

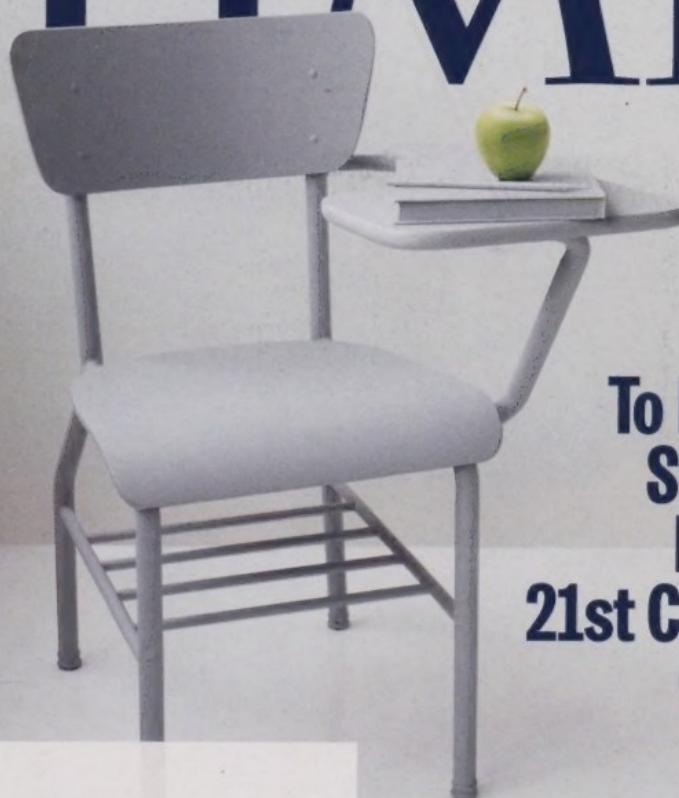


SPY STORY
A TALE OF POISON, POLITICS
AND REVENGE

THE YEAR'S BEST
PICTURES
HIGHS, LOWS & HEAD BUTTS

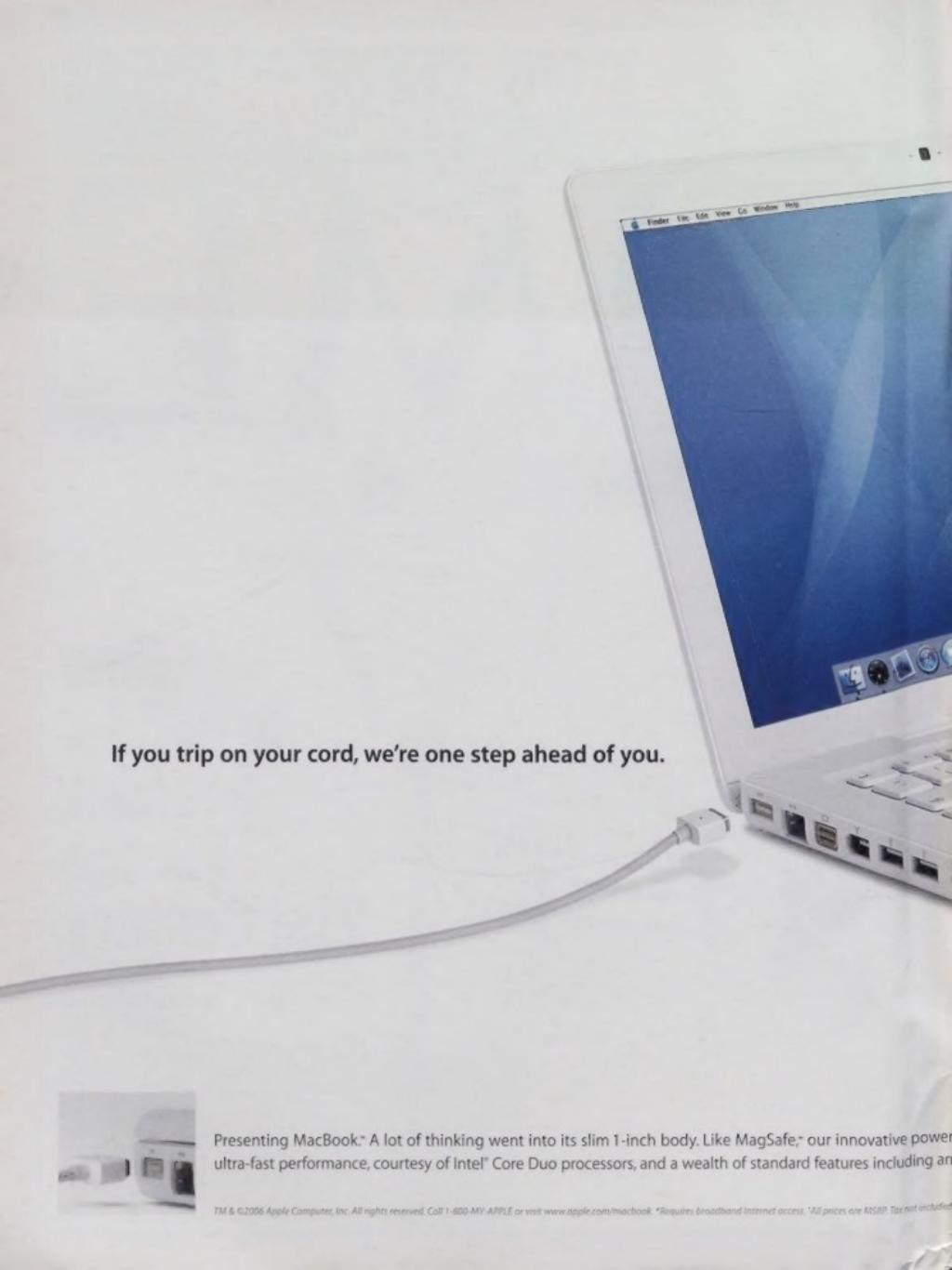


TIME



**How
To Build a
Student
For the
21st Century**

BY CLAUDIA WALLIS
& SONJA STEPTOE



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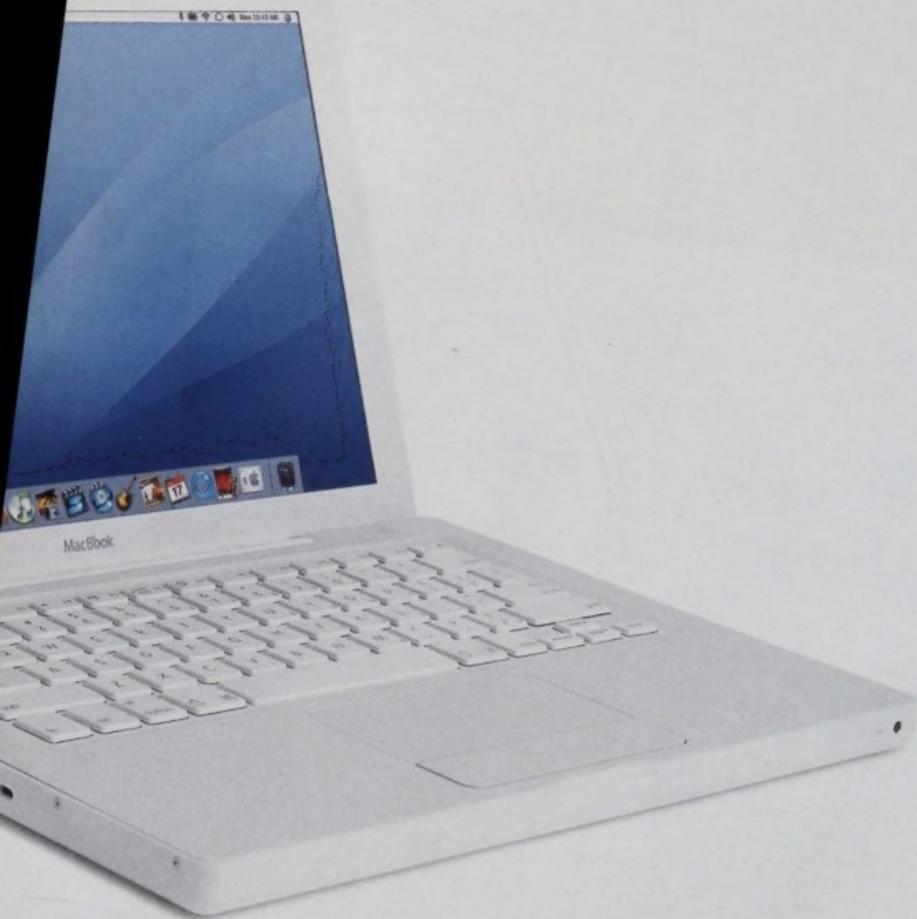


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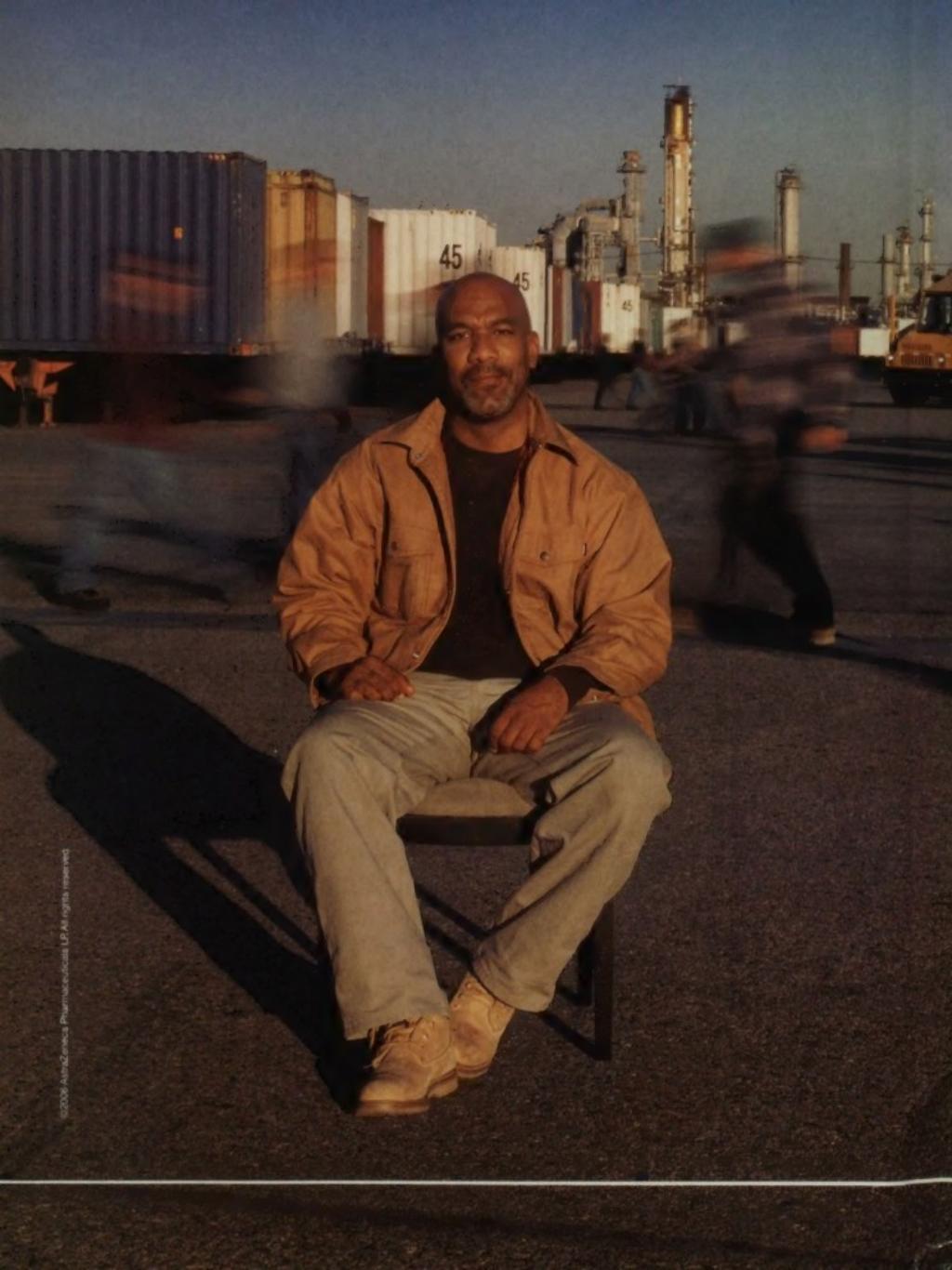
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TIME

December 18, 2006
Vol. 168, No. 25



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Pallbearers carry the casket of Alexander Litvinenko, the ex-KGB officer who was mysteriously killed

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COVER: Photograph for TIME by Jason Fulford and Paul Sahre. Apple digitally altered. Insets (from left): Natasja Weitsz—Getty; John MacDougall—AFP/Getty

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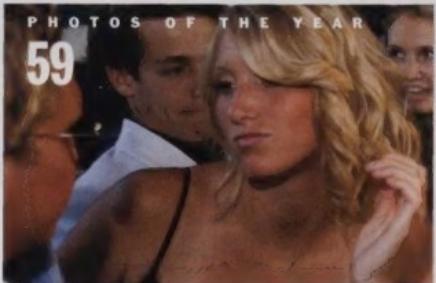


PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON FULFORD; INSETS BY PAUL SAHRE FOR TIME; MICROSCOPE AND SPHERE BY KAREN MURRAY FOR TIME

How can U.S. schools prepare the next generation to compete in the more challenging global economy of the 21st century? It will take more than No Child Left Behind. How some educators are already getting started

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PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN STICKLER FOR TIME

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Dreamgirls and other movies worth seeing this season

TIME.com

Check out our website every day for breaking news, analysis of hot issues, photo galleries, multimedia features, blogs, opinion and more. These were last week's most popular Web-exclusive stories >>

MOST VIEWED ON TIME.COM



ADAM NADLER/POLARIS

1. The Real Losers in the Obama-Warren Controversy
2. The Baker Report: Pulling No Punches
3. Bolton's Goodbye: Bowing to the Inevitable
4. Promising the Moon
5. Cartoons of the Week

Clockwise from top: OUR MONEY'S FOR TIME; ANTHONY SUAU; VENUS BENNETT; CLAY ENOS; CHARLES DE BOER



Photos of the Year

Vote for your own favorite; see a gallery of best reader photos of the year; and see more from our award-winning photographers at

time.com/portfolios



Kadir van Lohuizen
The Dutch photographer cast his lens on the unfolding tragedy in Darfur



Alexandra Boulat
A French photographer based in Ramallah, she examined life in the Gaza Strip



Yuri Kozyrev
He has covered the Iraq war since its early days; view some of his best shots of the ground conflict



Anthony Suau
Now based in Europe, he took memorable shots for TIME of New Orleans a year after Katrina



WORK IN PROGRESS

In her blog on life in the workplace, Lisa Takeuchi Cullen last week looked at office parties and a new report showing how happy (!) we are on the job. Read her at time.com/work



UPDATING THE CLASSROOM

For more on efforts to improve U.S. education, see Sonja Steptoe's file on Michigan's rigorous approach. We'll examine a key report, due this week, on reshaping U.S. education. time.com/michigan

PERSON OF THE YEAR

Who is your pick for TIME's most influential individual of 2006? Go to YouTube for a message from TIME managing editor Rick Stengel, and send us your own video nominations at time.com/potw



TRAILING A DIAMOND

The unsavory side of the diamond trade is the focus of the new film *Blood Diamond*. Follow the journey that the precious stones make—from mining in Africa to cutting, polishing and marketing—at time.com/diamonds



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE/REUTERS



My name **ELLEN DEGENERES**

childhood ambition **TO WORK WITH ANIMALS**

fondest memory **I CAN'T RECALL, BUT I'M SURE I'M FOND OF IT.**

indulgence **DOING NOTHING**

last purchase **BUTTER**

favorite movie **WORLD ACCORDING TO GARP + OUT OF AFRICA**

inspiration **KINDNESS**

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10 QUESTIONS FOR Dakota Fanning

By the time she turns 13 in February, Dakota Fanning will have appeared in 16 movies. Her two latest—an adaptation of the children's classic *Charlotte's Web*, in theaters this month, and the gritty indie *Hound Dog*, which will screen at the Sundance Film Festival in January—represent opposite ends of the young star's growing oeuvre. Fanning told TIME's Rebecca Winters Keegan about enduring her awkward stage, tackling grownup themes and selling Girl Scout cookies.

Who has been your messiest co-star: Tom Cruise, Denzel Washington, Sean Penn or the baby pig who plays Wilbur in *Charlotte's Web*? Actually there were like 50 little pigs. We would get them when they were little, and during filming they would get too big. It's a misconception about pigs that they're dirty or messy or smelly. They're really cute, and they don't stink. I had a really great experience with them, and I'd like to do it again some day.

So you're saying Sean Penn was the messiest? No, definitely not! None of the actors I've worked with have been messy.

Your next film, tentatively titled *Hound Dog*, is about some very adult themes, including sexual abuse. Can you explain it? It's about a young girl in the South. She has overcome some really hard things in her life through music—especially the blues and Elvis Presley. I have to sing a little bit in the movie. It's the period where Elvis is touring in his pink Cadillac and starting to get really popular, so I had to learn about that. It stars Robin Wright Penn, David Morse, Piper Laurie. It's about overcoming adversity and still being yourself and not having to change who you are.

This sounds very different from *Charlotte's Web*, *The Cat*



in the Hat and the other films that we think of as Dakota Fanning movies. I've been lucky to do all different kinds of movies, and what they have in common is that they are all little girls going through hard things or fun things in their lives. One of my favorite movies is *Gone With the Wind*. And I loved *The Devil Wears Prada*. I like to watch all kinds of films, and it's important to me to

be in all different kinds of films too.

Will you be in Park City, Utah, at Sundance for the screening? Yeah, I'm so excited. I've never been somewhere where there's that much snow. I totally want to go skiing. I've heard skiing is superhard, but I'd like to try it.

Are you at all protective of your little sister Elle, 8, who has an acting career of her own now?

She's my baby sister and my best friend, and she just does her own thing. We're different in many ways. My sister is totally a free spirit, wild and fun and funny. Me, I'm more organized and proper. My sister, when she was younger, she didn't care what she wore. She would put on the craziest outfits, whereas I stop to look at myself in the mirror before I go out.

You're about to turn 13, which for lots of people is an awkward age. Do you worry about going through that transition in front of the camera? There's no stopping it. There's nothing I can do about turning 13. I don't waste my time worrying about something I can't control.

You always seem so grownup. Do you feel more comfortable with adults or children? I really feel comfortable with both. On the set there's always doubles and stand-ins and things like that, so I'm never the only kid.

I hear you'd like to take a turn behind the camera. I would love to direct someday. I've learned a lot from watching directors I've worked with, like Steven Spielberg and Gary Winick, whom I worked with on *Charlotte's Web*. I would love to have that relationship with another actor.

Do you have much time for Girl Scouts these days? Last year my sister and I sold 750 boxes of Girl Scout cookies, so we were pretty excited about that. At \$4 a box, baby, it was, like, \$3,000. We did it door-to-door in Los Angeles in my aunt's neighborhood. It's getting to be that time of year again, so my sister and I will be out there soon. People didn't really notice it was us last year. When I knocked on one door, one person said, "Who is it?" I said, "Girl Scouts." They said, "We're not home." I didn't push it—I was like, no Thin Mints for you!



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INSIDE BUSINESS

JANUARY 2007



Menswear at a JCPenney off-mall store in Fort Worth, Texas. The retail giant is sharpening its image

COVER

The Money in the Middle

Retailers are heading for a decent Christmas, and rivals JCPenney and Kohl's are enjoying a revival of the industry's forgotten segment.....

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The Weinsteins: The Sequel

Bob and Harvey are back with a boffo new company. But don't call it a movie studio. It's a "media boutique".....

A7

Your Fingertips Know You

BioPassword took keystroke patterning—the way you type a word—and turned it into security software.....

A10

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Thriving, for-profit services are fueling a new boomer-focused agenda.....

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Now Boarding for Accra

Seeking better profits, U.S. airlines are flying unusual global routes.....

A22

Indie again, movie moguls Bob, left, and Harvey Weinstein at the Tribeca Film Center in New York City



7 in a series of 8

Is your company people-ready?

Go online to take part in a short survey to find out if your company has the right tools to compete successfully in today's business environment. You'll find questions like the one below.

My employees easily communicate across departments to identify opportunities to strengthen customer relationships.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Undecided
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

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Christianity, Islam and the Pope

In anticipation of Pope Benedict XVI's visit to Turkey, we explored how the Pontiff's remarks on Islam have made him a lightning rod in conflicts worldwide pitting that faith against the West. Prayers for peace, suggested readers, would be answered only through some soul searching by members of all faiths

IT WOULD BE BETTER IF POPE BENEDICT XVI and other Christian leaders would seek open dialogue with Muslim clerics rather than confront them with inflammatory debate [Nov. 27]. Christianity and Islam have glorious yet violent pasts; both have lost their way with stubborn claims to exclusive truth and the consequent rise of intolerant fundamentalism. Leaders of neither religion can claim the moral high ground, given their failure to shelter the innocent during the great wars and genocides of the 20th century. In the 21st century, both religions have the moral obligation to face the future together.

EDWARD D. WALKER
East Lansing, Mich.

TIME'S STORY SAID, "THE ROMAN CATHOLIC Church's own record in the religious-mayhem department is hardly pristine," suggesting that the church has no business criticizing jihadis Islam. But right now Muslims are free to practice their faith in Christian-dominated nations, while non-Muslims in predominantly Islamic countries are severely, sometimes violently, restricted. The Pope is to be commended, not sneered at, for sticking his neck out for the sake of interfaith dialogue based on doctrine, reason and truth.

DAVID PEARSON
North Branford, Conn.

DEMAGOGIC LEADERS CAN EXPLOIT A host of religious texts to advocate the use of violence. Even Satan can recite Scripture. Perhaps we should be less concerned about the particular doctrinal precepts of Islam and more concerned about poverty and insufficient educational standards in the Middle East.

STEPHEN D. WAGNER III
Massapequa Park, N.Y.

IF ISLAM IS SUCH A PEACEFUL RELIGION, why are so many of those who engage in terrorism avowed Muslims? Why do Muslims claim the West is oppressing them when oil prices are going through the roof? Muslims must take a good look



“Monotheistic religions that lay claim to the one and only possible truth are doomed by their very nature to end up in conflict.”

CAROLYN D. LEWIS
Ocean View, Del.

at themselves and their way of thinking to find out what has gone wrong with their societies for the past five centuries.

LEO W. DAVIS
Waco, Texas

ANY DECENT, FAIR-MINDED PERSON HAS A moral obligation to condemn extremism, religious or secular. But the Pope's peremptory linking of Islam and violence is irrational and irresponsible, especially when such a wildly inaccurate judgment comes from somebody whose religion has historically caused much more extensive and brutal suffering than Islam ever has.

HUSAM DUGHMAN
Toronto

THE ARTICLE ON POPE BENEDICT XVI leaves one with the impression that the Pope is a moral leader of great stature. He is not. His stances on abortion, contraception and stem-cell research are deplorable and, because of his authority, extremely harmful to many innocent people. Since Islam shares many of his mistaken values, we should fear that he will use any contacts made during his visit to Turkey to expand the influence (and harm) of his moral mistakes.

GERALD H. PASKE
Wichita, Kans.

MONOTHEISTIC RELIGIONS THAT LAY claim to the one and only possible truth are doomed by their very nature to end up in conflict. The only way out is to free ourselves from these ancient divisive creeds and thus extinguish their fires of righteousness. A little more humility about the human condition and our relation to a higher power would go a long way toward healing what divides us.

CAROLYN D. LEWIS
Ocean View, Del.

IT IS STRANGE TO FIND THE TERM REASON in a religious debate, especially when there is no mention of that single most important human value that defines what we really want and need and that allows everything else to fall into place: namely, compassion.

SERGEI HEURLIN
Culver City, Calif.

The Challenge to Islam

RE FATHER RICHARD NEUHAUS' VIEWPOINT [Nov. 27], in which he explained that Pope Benedict XVI is challenging Muslims to confront hard truths: Islam indeed has a menacing aspect, and the Pope finally addressed it directly. Since the defeat of the Turks in Vienna in 1683 and the subsequent decline of Muslim power, jihadists have dreamed of reconquering the Christian West. Islam has an expansion policy, which is that every Muslim has a duty to spread the religion in the name of the Prophet. Criticized as

a myopic hard-liner when elected, Benedict might become the Pope of progress in Christian-Muslim relations.

VEITH RUEHLING
Augsburg, Germany

NEUHAUS MADE THE MOST IMPORTANT point of all when he said, "Mosques proliferate throughout cities in the West, while any expression of non-Islamic religion is strictly forbidden in many Muslim countries." No matter what moral failures we find in the "Christianized" West, people have the freedom to exercise their faith and religion. For people to be deprived of that freedom in Muslim countries is immoral.

JAMES E. RUARK
Kentwood, Mich.

Defining Europe

COMMENTATOR TARIQ RAMADAN'S VIEWPOINT column urged the West to remember "the critical role that Muslims played in the development of Western thought" [Nov. 27]. If Ramadan wants to bolster the image of Islam in the West today, however, he would do better to implore Muslims around the world to protest any and all acts of violence, intimidation and terrorism committed in the name of Allah. Only when Muslims learn to accept Christians and members of other religions will they no longer be taken as a threat to world peace.

JACK TRESESE
Simi Valley, Calif.

RAMADAN LISTED "MUTUAL RESPECT OF human rights, basic freedoms, rule of law and democracy" as values common

to Christianity and Islam. But instead of claiming that Islam is misunderstood, why don't Muslims openly oppose Islamic nations that do not share those ideals? And even if Islamic radicals make up only a "marginal minority" of the roughly 1.5 billion Muslims worldwide, that is still an enormous number of fanatics willing to die and take as many infidels with them as they can.

RICHARD COLE
San Jose, Calif.

Lessons of Vietnam

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH'S VISIT TO Vietnam was another missed opportunity to make amends for his failed policies [Nov. 27]. Instead of acknowledging the peaceful nature of his visit to a former enemy nation and declaring that, despite the present situation in Iraq, he looks forward to the day when a future American President can visit Baghdad and safely travel by motorcade through the capital, he sheepishly avoided the comparisons of Iraq with Vietnam. Americans know Iraq is a mess, and maybe the President knows it too. But before it can be cleaned up, we need a President who can engage the world and pony up to reality.

CHRISTOPHER E. BERG
New York City

BUSH SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT THE LESSON of the Vietnam War was that we should have stayed the course. But the real lesson of the Vietnam War was that we should never have intervened. The U.S. war against that poor country left millions of innocent Vietnamese civilians dead and millions more wounded.

DEBACLE IN BROAD DAYLIGHT



Islamic militias with ties to terrorist groups have brought order to war-ravaged Somalia, TIME's Nov. 27 issue reported. The U.S. mission to stabilize the country ended after a disastrous battle described in our Oct. 18, 1993, story:

"For Carlos Rodriguez the battle was a few seconds of terror, hours of agonized waiting. While his comrades stormed the building near the Olympic Hotel in Mogadishu to try to snatch Somali warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid, Rodriguez and the rest of his squad swarmed down ropes from a helicopter ... 'It was bright daylight; there were windows and doors all around us, and you can't watch all of them all the time,' said Rodriguez. 'ALL OF A SUDDEN THE SOMALIS JUST OPENED UP ON US. SMALL ARMS AND GRENADES. THERE WAS SHOOTING FROM ALL DIRECTIONS, and we couldn't see who was shooting at us. I saw a muzzle once, sticking around a corner, and I shot at it.' Almost instantly, though, Rodriguez himself got shot in the right hip ... Our squad leader got hit too. It got pretty confusing.' ... Just as his unit was being shot at, the Rangers storming the building near the Olympic Hotel looking for Aidid were also being hit by murderous fire ... Helicopter troops nonetheless captured the hotel and environs and bagged more than 19 Aidid supporters. But as they tried to lead the prisoners away, the streets erupted with gunfire." Read more at timearchive.com.

Joshua, on taking ABILIFY:

"I begin to open up again to things that I was very passionate about in the past."



Individual results may vary

Watch a video of Joshua describing his personal journey with Bipolar I Disorder and ABILIFY—visit www.abilify.com/joshua



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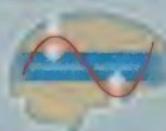
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For The Road Ahead

What important information about ABILIFY do I need to know?

Elderly patients diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have or develop any conditions or side effects, such as:

- Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS), which is rare but potentially fatal.
- Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of tardive dyskinesia (TD), which may be permanent.
- If you are elderly, an increased risk of stroke or ministroke has been reported in clinical trials for elderly patients with dementia.

- If you have diabetes, risk factors for, or symptoms of diabetes, increases in blood sugar levels have been reported with medicines like ABILIFY. In some cases these were serious and resulted in coma or death.

If you have lightheadedness, seizures, trouble swallowing, or suicidal thoughts It's important to tell your healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions with ABILIFY. You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

Do not drive or operate heavy machinery until you know how ABILIFY affects you.

What are the most common side effects of ABILIFY?

Common side effects include: constipation; an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia); headache; nausea; upset stomach; vomiting; agitation; anxiety; insomnia; sleepiness; lightheadedness; and tremor.

If you or someone you know needs help paying for medicine, call 1-888-APPA-NOW (1-888-477-2649). Or go to www.pparx.org.

Please read additional IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY including **Bolded WARNING** on the following page.



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ABILITY® (ə-BIL-i-fi) (aripiprazole) (air-i-PIP-rah-zole)

What is ABILIFY?

ABILITY is a prescription medicine used to treat patients with an acute manic or mixed episode associated with Bipolar I Disorder and for maintaining efficacy in these patients who have been stabilized and then maintained for at least six weeks.

What is Bipolar I Disorder?

Bipolar I Disorder is an illness with symptoms thought to be caused by an imbalance of brain chemicals. People who have Bipolar I Disorder tend to experience extreme mood swings, along with other specific symptoms and behaviors. These mood swings, or "episodes," can take three forms: manic, depressive, or mixed episodes. Common symptoms of a manic episode are: feeling extremely happy, being very irritable and anxious, talking too fast and too much, and having more energy and needing less sleep than usual. Common symptoms of a depressive episode include: feelings of overwhelming sadness or emptiness; low energy, a loss of interest in things, trouble concentrating, changes in sleep or appetite, and thoughts of dying or suicide. A mixed episode includes symptoms that are both manic and depressive.

Who should not take ABILIFY?

People who are allergic to ABILIFY or to any substance that is in it. Please talk with your doctor or healthcare professional.

What important information should I know about ABILIFY?

Elderly patients, diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have any conditions or side effects, including the following:

Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of NMS, a rare but serious side effect that could be fatal.

Tardive dyskinesia (TD): Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of a serious condition known as TD, which may be permanent.

Elderly patients with dementia: An increased risk of stroke and mini-stroke has been reported in a clinical study of elderly patients with dementia (for example, increased memory loss and inability to perform daily activities). ABILIFY is not approved for treating patients with dementia.

Diabetes: Patients with diabetes and those having risk factors for diabetes (for example, obesity, family history of diabetes), as well as those with symptoms such as unexpected increases in thirst, urination, or hunger should have their blood sugar levels checked before and during treatment. Increases in blood sugar levels (hyperglycemia), in some cases serious and associated with coma or death, have been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY.

Orthostatic hypotension: Lightheadedness or faintness caused by a sudden change in heart rate and blood pressure when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position (orthostatic hypotension) has been reported with ABILIFY.

Dysphagia: Medicines like ABILIFY have been associated with swallowing problems (dysphagia). If you had or have swallowing problems, you should tell your doctor or healthcare professional.

Suicidal thoughts: If you have suicidal thoughts, you should tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away.

What should I tell my doctor or healthcare professional before I start taking ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

Information about your overall health, and any medical problems you may have, such as:

- Whether you're taking any other prescription or nonprescription (over-the-counter) medicines
- Whether you're pregnant, plan to become pregnant, or are breast-feeding
- If you or anyone in your family has had seizures
- If you or anyone in your family has had high blood sugar or diabetes

What should I avoid when taking ABILIFY?

- Avoid overheating and dehydration
- Avoid driving or operating hazardous machinery until you know how ABILIFY affects you
- Avoid drinking alcohol
- Avoid breast-feeding an infant.

What are the common side effects of ABILIFY?

Common side effects include: constipation, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), headache, nausea, upset stomach, vomiting, agitation, anxiety, trouble sleeping (insomnia), sleepiness, lightheadedness, and tremor.

What percentage of people stopped taking ABILIFY due to side effects?

In clinical trials, the percentage of people who discontinued taking ABILIFY due to side effects was similar for patients treated with ABILIFY (11%) and for patients treated with sugar pill (9%).

Can I safely take ABILIFY while I'm taking other medications?

ABILIFY can be taken with most drugs; however, taking ABILIFY with some medicines may require your doctor or healthcare professional to adjust the dosage of ABILIFY.

These medicines* include:

- ketoconazole (NIZORAL®)
- quinidine (QUINIDEX®)
- fluoxetine (PROZAC®)
- paroxetine (PAXIL®)
- carbamazepine (TEGRETOL®)

It is important to tell your doctor or healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, just to be sure.

General Information:

- ABILIFY is usually taken once a day, with or without food
- ABILIFY should be kept out of the reach of children and pets
- Store ABILIFY Tablets and the Oral Solution at room temperature
- For patients who must limit their sugar intake, be aware that ABILIFY Oral Solution contains sugar
- For patients who cannot metabolize phenylalanine (those with phenylketonuria or PKU), ABILIFY® DISCMELT™ contains phenylalanine
- If you have additional questions, talk to your doctor or healthcare professional

Find out more about ABILIFY:

Please visit our website at www.ability.com/bipolardisorder

*NIZORAL is a registered trademark of Janssen Pharmaceuticals. QUINIDEX is a registered trademark of Wyeth Pharmaceuticals. PROZAC is a registered trademark of Eli Lilly and Company. PAXIL is a registered trademark of GlaxoSmithKline. TEGRETOL is a registered trademark of Novartis Pharmaceuticals.

Based on Full Prescribing Information 1156731B9.

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Oral Disintegrating Tablets manufactured by Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA.

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Otsuka America Pharmaceutical, Inc.

The other lesson we failed to learn was how easily the U.S. government can lie and lead us into war. In Vietnam it was the big lie about a U.S. warship's being attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin. In Iraq it was the even bigger lie about weapons of mass destruction.

MASSEMO PODRECCA
New York City

WHILE IN HANOI, PRESIDENT BUSH SAID, "We tend to want there to be instant success in the world, and the task in Iraq is going to take a while." I would like to remind everyone that it was the Administration that said invading Iraq and securing the country were going to be a walk in the park, an affair of a few months at most.

PHILIP DE LOURAILLE
Los Gatos, Calif.

PRESIDENT BUSH DEMONSTRATED THAT he has learned little if anything from history when he said that the main lesson of Vietnam is, "We'll succeed unless we quit." The Vietnam War was lost after 58,000 American troops and millions of Vietnamese civilians died over 14 years. More bombs were dropped on that tiny country than were used by all sides in all of World War II. That's giving up? The lessons of Vietnam are many, but chief among them are that invading forces cannot subdue a native population fighting a guerrilla war; that Americans will not support endless costly wars of choice; and that humility, caution and planning are essential in military operations.

DANIEL BREZENOFF
Long Beach, Calif.

Rebuilding the House

INCOMING HOUSE SPEAKER NANCY PELOSI failed in her campaign to elect her ally John Murtha as House majority leader [Nov. 27]. But why should anyone have been surprised by Pelosi's decision to support the populist Murtha? The Democrats' gain in the election was primarily driven by dissatisfaction with the Republican Party, not support for left-wingers. I'm not sure, however, that either party deserved to win. The constant bickering by both parties is appalling and discouraging.

GLEN WILSON
Westerville, Ohio

LESS THAN TWO WEEKS ON THE JOB, AND already Pelosi is screwing up. I have to admit I am loving it. After years of hear-

ing Republicans called everything from cowboys to Nazis, it's a blast watching the Dems fall over one another to make fools of themselves.

MICHAEL CHIMENTI
New York City

Heading South?

YOUR ARTICLE ON THE DISINTEGRATING state of affairs in Miami struck a personal chord in our home [Nov. 27]. My wife lived in Miami for 14 years, and when I was a child, I would visit the city each year with my folks. We both have seen vast changes to the lifestyle that Floridians used to enjoy. When we visited Miami a year ago, we were dismayed to find it overcrowded with traffic, lacking in customer service at retailers and restaurants and generally difficult to enjoy. It seems Miami has big-city problems and a small-

WHEN FLYING WAS FUN



While U.S. airlines are stripping amenities, some international carriers have begun offering come-ons like in-flight gambling and cellphone use [Nov. 27]. But in its early days, commercial air travel was an exciting, glamorous affair, as described in our March 28, 1949, cover story on Pan American Airways' founder Juan Terry Trippe:

"Last week Juan Trippe was ready to guide his Pan American Airways in a great new adventure which would make the world every man's oyster. And like the old Portuguese captains, who held a last open house on their high-pooped ships before they sailed off, Juan Trippe was also showing off his newest ship of the air. The ship was a great, fat-bellied Boeing Stratocruiser, the first delivered to any airline. When it flew into Boston last week, it created the biggest stir since Lindbergh's *Spirit of St. Louis* landed there in 1927 on its triumphal tour. Some 50,000 people ... broke through police lines to ruberneck at the world's newest and biggest (71 tons), fanciest and fastest (up to 375 m.p.h.) commercial airliner ... AT CHICAGO, CROWDS JOSTLED FOR PEEKS AT ITS SPIRAL STAIRCASE AND ITS UNDERBELLY COCKTAIL LOUNGE WITH FUCHSIA-COLORED SEATS ... Next week, wearing a crepe-paper lei on its shiny nose, it will take off for Honolulu." Read more at timearchive.com.

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

THE PRICE WAS WRONG

■ The Nov. 27 story "Has Sony Got Game?" incorrectly stated that the Microsoft Xbox 360 video-game console costs \$400 for a basic version and \$500 for a premium system with a hard drive. The price of the basic version is \$300; the premium system is \$400.

AUTHOR! AUTHOR!

■ The Nov. 27 story "How to End the Math Wars" mistakenly referred to Eric Carle as the author of the children's book *Polar Bear, Polar Bear*. It was written by Bill Martin Jr. and illustrated by Carle.

town mentality. What was once a beautiful, pleasant city has become an example of expansion and corruption gone wild.

VICTOR PEREZ
Schaumburg, Ill.

TIME'S STORY WAS WAY OFF BASE. MIAMI boasts the most beautiful beaches in the U.S., and it attracts tourists from everywhere in the world, so many that airports in Miami and Fort Lauderdale are being expanded. Miami has a perfect climate for a stress-free lifestyle, with no snow to shovel or heating bills to pay. The city will continue to attract young families.

BRIAN KOSLOW
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Healing the CDC

"WHAT AILS THE CDC" [NOV. 27] PROVIDED an incomplete picture of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's reorganization and recent achievements. Here are a few: for the first time in 10 years, childhood immunization rates in America do not differ by race and ethnicity. The CDC is collaborating on efforts to help save 100,000 lives from hospital infections. We've also created faster diagnostic tests for influenza, botulism and other illnesses and created a campaign to make HIV testing routine, so that people can more readily access lifesaving treatment and prevention services. The CDC has increased its ability to face urgent threats like bioterrorism and flu pandemics, and we want to do the same for heart disease, cancer, diabetes, HIV/AIDS

and obesity. While we are proud of our accomplishments, our reorganization is based on the recognition that we must create new networks and greater collaboration, both inside and outside the agency, to succeed.

JULIE LOUISE GERBERDING, DIRECTOR
CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL
AND PREVENTION
Atlanta

Win the War! Save String!

TIME REPORTED THAT AMERICAN TROOPS in Iraq are using Silly String to detect trip wires affixed to bombs [Nov. 27]. Rather than ask civilians to mail cans of it to the troops, shouldn't we just ask Halliburton to order it by the truckload? That would be quicker since the company seems to have an unlimited government expense account. Or have the Defense Department buy Silly String directly from the manufacturer and ship it on military transport. Here's a third idea: buy all the Silly String you can find, and drop it off at the closest military base to be shipped along with the same troops whose lives the stuff could save.

KAREN GARNER
Newport News, Va.

HOW TO REACH US

TIME

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SAMSUNG

A black and white photograph of a young girl in a classroom. She is looking directly at the camera with a serious expression, her right hand raised high in the air. Other children are visible in the background, some also with their hands raised.

1 girl

+ \$20

1 life
saved

It's simple math and a simple choice.

Just \$20 will provide enough supplies to get an education—giving her a chance to overcome poverty, disease, raise healthy children, and play a strong role in society.

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Who will be the 2006 TIME Person of the Year?

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- Check out the POY choices of leading commentators
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Inspired Presenter of the Person of the Year Poll

MY PERSON OF THE YEAR

To help us make this year's selection, TIME asked people who have been featured in the magazine for their 2006 nominations. A sampling:



JOHN KERRY



John Kerry, presidential contender in 2004, is the junior U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

I nominate the veterans who ran for Congress for their guts, grit, brains and heart. In Washington, veterans are too often seen as backdrops for speeches but seldom listened to about war and peace and body armor. Now the troops are speaking, and they will change the character of Congress.

→ VETERANS WHO RAN FOR CONGRESS



CHRIS DEWOLFE AND TOM ANDERSON



Chris DeWolfe and Tom Anderson are the creators of MySpace.com

This year TIME should look at Warren Buffett. Rather than duplicating what Bill and Melinda Gates have done, he supported them by donating billions to their foundation. Buffett has been a business and philanthropy icon for years, but this takes him to a whole new level.

→ WARREN BUFFETT



BILLIE JEAN KING 1975



Tennis great Billie Jean King won 12 Grand Slam singles titles

Muhammad Yunus, the Bangladeshi who was awarded the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize, should be honored by TIME for his pioneering work in microcredit financing to help the fight against poverty around the world. Yunus has developed one of the most viable solutions to ease extreme poverty, and hopefully end it as well.

→ MUHAMMAD YUNUS



FATHER RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS



Father Richard John Neuhaus is a Catholic priest and founder of the journal First Things

I nominate Pope Benedict XVI. Once viewed as a contentious academic, he has assumed a world-historical role of leadership. In his address at Regensburg and his journey to Turkey, he has clarified the relationship of the West to Islam, proposing a hopeful alternative to "the clash of civilizations."

→ POPE BENEDICT XVI

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CHRYSLER INSPIRED



NoteBook

The State of Our Health

AMERICANS ARE 19% HEALTHIER NOW THAN IN 1990, ACCORDING TO the United Health Foundation. Fewer people smoke; more are immunized. But before we drink to our health, keep in mind that as

NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA

Both states have cut the prevalence of infections almost nearly 75% since 1990. And North Dakota has a very low violent crime rate: 190 offenses per 100,000 people, compared with, say, South Carolina's 761.

United Health Foundation health ranking*



MINNESOTA

It's healthy, don'tcha know? Minnesotans scored 21% above the U.S. mean, thanks to factors such as a high rate of exercise, provided health insurance. Stat 1 = 8 goes home, which the state will combat with a child-care plan.

VERMONT

Ben and Jerry's aside, it's the most uninsured—21% health care since 1990. Smoking is down 2%, and child poverty, now, is expectant 28.



UTAH

It has the lowest smoking rate in the U.S.—just 11.5%.

OKLAHOMA

The state improved the least since 1990, up a mere 6.4%.

TEXAS

It's the worst with health insurance—24% of Texans lack it.

LOUISIANA

The state in which 1 in 3 people are obese has always ranked in the bottom two. But there is some progress. This year violent crime is down a healthy 7%.

WHAT'S NEXT

Annan to Bid Adieu

United Nations chief's farewell
Kofi Annan makes his last major speech as Secretary-General this week in Missouri. (Ban Ki-Moon takes over on Jan. 1.) The topic: the need for accountability in U.S. foreign policy.

Rethinking History

Iran calls Holocaust conference
Holocaust skeptic and Iranian Prez Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has invited scholars from 30 nations to a conference this week in Tehran to debate issues like whether the Nazis used gas chambers.

Diana Whodunit

New report on Princess's demise
Former London police chief John Stevens will release the results this week of a three-year British inquiry into Di's death. The Inquest used cutting-edge technology to reconstruct the crash.



THE POLS WEIGH IN

TWO JAPANESE OFFICIALS—INCLUDING VICE MINISTER OF HEALTH Noritoshi Ishida, above—have launched a six-month fight with flap, and they're blogging about it (mhlw.go.jp—it's in Japanese). Want to know about your political leaders? Go online for more—some might say too much—information. —E.M.



Norodom Sihanouk Cambodia

www.sihanouk.info, the King Father of Cambodia posts snarky-to-the-gods from the royal inbox, news stories and video clips of him singing original tunes. A TIME fave: song No. 21.



Jon Riki Karamatsu Hawaii

The state legislator talks story, as I have done many times before. History can't wanton blog, to review the "human side"—from his son's first car to a eulogy for his grandmother.



Ray Cox Minnesota

One of the first officials to blog, State rep Cox (raycox.net) has posted photos of his wife Ellen's Thanksgiving prep and tree decorating. Daveness didn't help at the polls—in November, he lost.



Boris Johnson England

The mad-haired British MP's recent borisjohnson.com rant on being stuck in traffic ("You gibber and... and... now you're... and... now you're...") typified his trademark Bo-Jo eccentricity.



“I thought we would succeed quicker than we did, and I am disappointed by the pace of success.”

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH, at a press conference with chief Iraq-war ally British Prime Minister Tony Blair, answering a question about whether he would acknowledge his failures and change course

“Another defeat for the North American empire. Another defeat for the devil.”

HUGO CHAVEZ, Venezuelan President, on the significance of his re-election last week. Chávez said it's clear that the U.S. does not want to take meaningful steps toward détente with his country

“I have bad news for you. Those trips you had planned in January—forget 'em. We will be working almost every day in January, starting with the 4th.”

STENY HOYER, Maryland Democrat who will become the House majority leader, telling reporters about the new five-day work schedule for members of the House of Representatives

“They all should have congratulated one another on their good taste and the fact that they could afford the dress.”

LETITIA BALDRIGE, etiquette expert and Kennedy-era White House social secretary, after Laura Bush and three other women wore identical \$5,500 red Oscar de la Renta gowns to a White House reception

“American has banned her for a long time.”

LYNNIE LOWRANCE, Nashville International Airport Authority spokeswoman, on a woman blacklisted by American Airlines after she lit a match aboard a plane to hide her flatulence, setting off alarms and causing the plane to make an emergency landing

 On Time Mobile, now you can read Quotes of the Day from TIME.com on the Web browser of your cell phone Go to mobile.time.com



Happy Feet?

Athletes to run in Antarctica

It's nearly summer there, but still—competitors in the Antarctic Ice Marathon, the world's southernmost 26.2-mile race, will brave the frigid foothills of the Ellsworth Mountains this week.

One, Two . . .

Audubon's 107th bird census

Get your binoculars ready. More than 50,000 observers will fan out across the Americas on Dec. 14, following specified routes and counting every bird they see or hear.



Quitting smoking?

I've been there.

But even with willpower,
I always went back.

So here I am...
worrying about
my health.





Let's get real.

Smoking is more than a habit;
it's a **nicotine addiction**.

That's why it's so hard for me to quit.

You can't seem to stop smoking. We understand. For most people, smoking is a nicotine addiction. But the good news is, medical advances have been made in understanding it. Find out how medicine and behavioral support both may help you quit smoking. Now may be your time to quit for good.

Find out how to quit smoking and about
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Go to www.mytimetounquit11.com
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DOORS WIDER OPEN

AFTER YEARS OF DEBATE, JUDAISM'S CONSERVATIVE branch last week became the latest faith group to allow gay ordination and commitment ceremonies. With all the shifting stances, who stands where on this issue? Here's a spectrum. —By David Van Biema

- Islam
- Orthodox Judaism
- Southern Baptists
- Roman Catholic Church
- United Methodists

- Presbyterian (U.S.A.)
- Conservative Judaism
- Episcopalian
- Reform Judaism
- United Church of Christ

Conservative

Catholics

Roman Catholicism requires priestly celibacy, so sexual orientation had seemed moot. But last year the Vatican told seminaries to reject those with "deep-seated homo-sexual tendencies."

Methodists

A divided United Methodist Church defrocked a lesbian minister in '05 and rejected gay marriage at its '04 general conference. But in June, the church's Minnesota branch voted in favor of liberalization.

Jews

It seems contradictory, but Conservative Judaism's leaders voted that arguments both for and against gay ordination and unions were legit. The effect was to allow gay robins and ceremonies.

Episcopalians

The 2003 election of an openly gay bishop in the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. has led to a real threat of internal schism and possible second-tier status in the Anglican Communion, its global parent.



All I Wanted For Christmas

WANT A T.M.X. ELMO? PAY UP. The must-have toy, an update of '96 hit *Tickle Me Elmo*, is selling for double its \$39.99 price on eBay. Some "It" toys of the past: —By Nedra Mustafa

1990s

POKÉMON

Kids felt powerful because adults couldn't keep track of the characters on the trading cards.



1980s

CABBAGE PATCH KIDS

At first turned off by the weird vegetal spawn, parents soon fought to "adopt" the dolls at the toy store.



1970s

STAR WARS

The figurines sold out so fast that Kenner, their maker, started mailing out empty boxes with IOUs.



1960s

G.I. JOE

The action figure made it O.K. for boys to play with dolls. In many girls' rooms, Joe dated Barbie.



1950s

MR. POTATO HEAD

The original version: plastic body parts children would stick into a real potato from Mom's kitchen.



Libeskind's oddly angled walls and meandering stairs are dizzying

Energy.

Barrel, bushel, or both?

Oil Preparing for a better energy future means exploring a range of energy options. So we're investing \$15 billion over ten years to find and produce new energy supplies in the Gulf. In fact, BP is the largest investor in U.S. energy development, investing \$30 billion over the last five years.

Biofuels We're also thinking beyond the barrel, working with DuPont to create an advanced generation of biofuels made from corn, wheat and other crops. And we're creating the world's first integrated research center dedicated to applying biotechnology to the energy industry. It's a start.



beyond petroleum™

NUMBERS

62% Increase in the risk of suicidal thoughts in people 25 or under who start taking antidepressants, according to a new FDA report

21% Decline in the risk of suicidal thoughts in people over 25 who start taking antidepressants

52 Number of times reconciliation was used in the Iraq Study Group's report

1 Number of times civil war appeared in the document

0 Times war on terror was used

\$1 billion Amount Israeli businessman Avi Shaked has offered to pay Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniya if he reaches a peace accord with Israel

\$100 million Amount Shaked says he would give if the Palestinian and Israeli Premiers simply sit down to talk



\$138,000 Top estimate for Audrey Hepburn's little black Givenchy dress from the 1961 film *Breakfast at Tiffany's*—which was auctioned in London last week

\$807,000 Price an anonymous buyer paid for the dress

PUNCHLINES



“Right now the two Democrats throwing their hat in the ring for 2008 are Tom Vilsack and Evan Bayh. To give you an idea of how unknown these guys are, their Secret Service code names are Tom Vilsack and Evan Bayh.” **JAY LENO**

“Taco Bell has had to close several restaurants because an outbreak of *E. coli* has made customers sick. As a result, Taco Bell is changing their slogan from ‘Think Outside the Bun’ to ‘Puke Outside the Store.’”

CONAN O'BRIEN

The Next Blair-Putin Summit:



“Today was the first and only day of confirmation hearings for [Rumsfeld's] replacement Robert Gates. The committee immediately confirmed the guy. They really only had one question: Are you now or have you ever been Donald Rumsfeld? He said no.” **STEPHEN COLBERT**

For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons

IDENTIFIED. **Mark Goudeau, 42,** former construction worker, as the alleged "Baseline Killer" who terrorized the Phoenix, Ariz., area with a string of assaults and shootings over 10 months starting in the summer of 2005; by police who cited DNA and ballistics evidence linking Goudeau, in custody since September on related sexual-assault charges, to the murders; in Phoenix. Named for the street on which the early attacks took place, the murderer left eight women and one man dead. When formally charged, Goudeau, who says he is innocent, could face 71 criminal counts, including nine of first-degree murder.

SURRENDERED. **Wesley Snipes, 44,** star of films, including *New Jack City*, *Waiting to Exhale* and *Blade*, who was indicted in October on several counts of tax fraud; to authorities in Ocala, Fla., after flying on a private jet from Namibia, where he has been filming his new movie *Gallow Walker*. Accused of falsely claiming refunds of some \$12 million as well as failing to file some tax returns, Snipes was released on \$1 million bond, allowed to finish filming and ordered to return to the U.S. by Jan. 10. The actor, who claimed he was a scapegoat for bad accountants, faces 16 years in prison if convicted.



DIED. James Kim, 35, editor for the Internet site CNET, 11 days after he and his family were stranded in the snow

following a series of wrong turns while driving near the Oregon coast on vacation; of hypothermia; in Josephine County, Ore. Rescuers found his body last Wednesday, four days after he set out on foot to seek help for wife Kati and their daughters Penelope, 4, and Sabine, 7 months. With temperatures in the 20s, Kim eventually left the road and climbed down a hill. Had he kept walking in the direction the car had been headed, he would have found a lodge a mile away. Instead, after a horrific circuitous trek, he died a mile from where he had left his family. Kati, who ran the car for heat until the car battery expired and breastfed both daughters, was rescued with the girls after a helicopter pilot spotted her waving an umbrella.

DIED. Claude Jade, 58, French actress who shot to fame as the heroine, opposite leading man Jean-Pierre Léaud, of three of François Truffaut's best-loved films, *Stolen Kisses*, *Bed & Board*

and *Love on the Run*; of eye cancer; in Boulogne-Billancourt, France. The bittersweet, semiautobiographical films follow the journey of a man through falling in love, marriage and divorce.

► **DIED. Effie Mae Howard, 70,** reluctantly famous, critically acclaimed African-American quiltmaker whose colorful, multilayered, geometric works—designed, she said, after intense private prayer—are now in the permanent collections of the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Oakland Museum under her pseudonym, Rosie Lee Tompkins; in Richmond, Calif.

DIED. Perry Henzell, 70, Jamaican director whose 1972 movie, *The Harder They Come*, the first-ever Jamaican-produced feature film, introduced reggae to a global audience; of bone-marrow cancer; in St. Elizabeth Parish, Jamaica. The movie—which featured songs like *You Can Get It If You Really Want* and *Many Rivers to Cross*—helped pave the way for Bob Marley's international breakthrough and launched the career of singer Jimmy Cliff. Its sound track was recently placed on TIME.com's list of 100 best albums in history.

DIED. Elliot Welles, 79,

Vienna-born Holocaust survivor who, as longtime director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's task force on war criminals, became one of the most influential and relentless Nazi hunters in the U.S.; in New York City. Welles got his start seeking to avenge the murder of his mother, who had been executed in the woods near Riga, Latvia, where his family had recently been deported. Haunted by the face and name of the officer who ordered her transport, Welles, with the help of the Justice Department, tracked him down in Germany—where the man was put on trial in 1976 and convicted.

DIED. Kenneth Taylor, 86, who, with squad mate George Welch, became the first U.S. Army Air Force pilots to get airborne immediately after the Japanese launched their attack on Pearl Harbor; in Tucson, Ariz. Taylor, then 21, was on his first assignment at Hawaii's Wheeler Field, and had spent the previous night in black tie at an officers' club fete. Hearing machine-gun fire, he grabbed Welch—and his tuxedo pants—and drove to their planes. Under fire, he and Welch shot down six enemy planes.

"I wasn't in the least bit terrified," he later said. "I was too young and too stupid to realize that I was in a lot of danger."

DIED. Jeane Kirkpatrick, 80, erudite, acerbic first female U.S. ambassador to the U.N., whose impassioned neoconservatism and blunt assessments of Democrats made her a G.O.P. star; in Bethesda, Md. Disgusted with what she perceived as the U.S.'s weak image under Jimmy Carter, the longtime Democrat, who did not formally switch parties until 1985, became publicly known as an ardent anticommunist and one of Ronald Reagan's closest foreign policy advisers. She helped Reagan distinguish between unfriendly Marxist "totalitarian" regimes and acceptable, rightist "authoritarian" ones; lambasted targets from the Soviet Union to the U.N. Security Council; and in a speech at the '84 Republican Convention, dryly denied Democrats as the "blame America first" party. In her later years, she remained a leading conservative voice and rallied for a formal declaration of war after 9/11. Of her Reagan-era positions she once explained, "We were concerned about the weakening of Western will."



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Joe Klein

There's More Than One Way to Diversity

YOU'RE CHARACTERIZING EACH STUDENT BY REASON OF THE color of his or her skin," chided Justice Anthony Kennedy, during the Supreme Court arguments last week over the legality of school integration plans in Louisville, Ky., and Seattle. "And it seems to me that that should only be, if ever allowed, allowed as a last resort." Kennedy is the court's probable swing vote on this issue, and he has a clear track record on racial preferences: he doesn't like them. "It appears Kennedy is going to stick with his long-held position that affirmative action is unconstitutional," says Paul Gewirtz

of Yale Law School. If so, the Roberts court is embarked upon a gradual, but ineluctable, rollback of all racial preferences. As Gewirtz puts it, "This could be the most significant short-term impact of the Bush appointees to the Supreme Court."

Affirmative action was never a very elegant solution to the problem of racial injustice. In fact, Gewirtz—who clerked for the civil rights legend Justice Thurgood Marshall—remembers that Marshall was opposed to making distinctions by race, and had his doubts about racial preferences. But Marshall overcame his doubts, and affirmative action became part of the fabric of American society. On the plus side, a generation of minority and women college graduates has entered the workforce, creating a significant black middle class and a more integrated society. But the price has been resentment, especially in the white working class, and some real inequities. Racial gerrymandering of legislative districts, for example, has created a distorted, extremist politics of racial identification, especially in the South.

Even the most passionate advocates of affirmative action agree that it's a temporary fix, that writing racial distinctions into law is corrosive and illogical in a society that presumes racial equality. Even the most passionate conservative advocates of "color blindness" know that race prejudice still exists and needs to be rectified. So what do we do now? Here are three possible ways to ensure diversity and repair injustice:

CHANGE THE DEFINITION. Make it poverty, not pigment. This is an imperfect solution. Yes, a disproportionate number of African Americans and Latinos are poor, but the majority of poor people are white—and more than a few are Asian. If race-based remedies are supplanted by class-based remedies, the number of African Americans attending elite universities, for one thing, will fall. Tom Kane, a Harvard economist, told me, "You'd need an economic affirmative-action program six times the size of the current racial preferences to [benefit] an equivalent number of African

Americans." There's another step that would reduce racial and economic injustice: eliminate "legacy" admissions to colleges. Legacies—that is, the children of alumni—represent a huge chunk of students in most fancy schools, about 1 of every 7 students in the Ivy League, according to some estimates. A 1990 study by the Department of Education found that the average Harvard legacy was "significantly less qualified" than other students in all areas except athletic ability. If we're going to end affirmative action for

African Americans, we should end it for Affluent Americans.

CHANGE THE SYSTEM. Affirmative action was always racial justice on the cheap. The only real long-term answer to inequality is to provide a better educational system for the poor, and I mean really better: new facilities, longer school days and school years, the best college-prep classes (to lure scholars from the whiter parts of town), and significant salary bonuses for teachers who choose the toughest neighborhoods, for starters. This would require nothing less than a revolution in public education. We would have to stop

funding public schools with local property taxes. The states should finance the system, spending equal amounts on all students. Better schools are the most important thing we can do to ameliorate racial and economic injustice.



Harvard '05 grads celebrate. It's time to eliminate "legacy" admissions

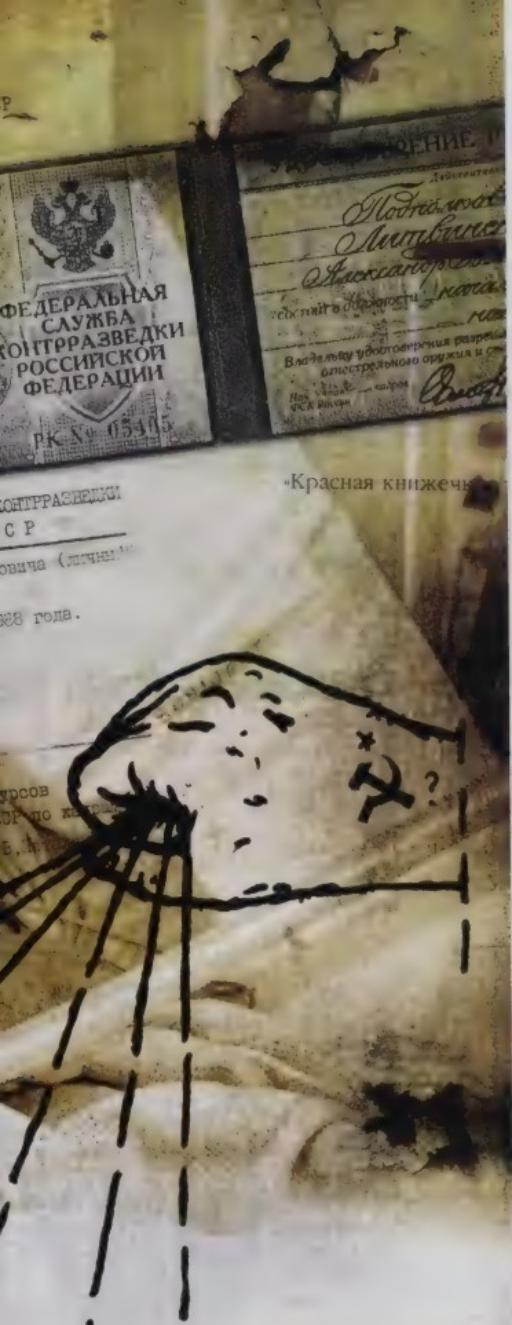
FUDGE IT. Congressman John Lewis of Georgia, a hero of the civil rights movement, is heartsick over the prospect that the Supreme Court might end the forcible imposition of integration in the society. But Lewis is a sunny soul, and he told me, "Society has come so far, and we're certainly not going backward." Even if racial preferences are ruled unconstitutional, "people are going to find a way to do it anyway." The Congressman is quite right. Diversity has been written into the DNA of American life; any institution that lacks a rainbow array has come to seem diminished, if not diseased. In fact, there is a general acknowledgment, in all but the most troglodytic precincts, that our racial diversity is a major American competitive advantage in the global economy. And so, if universities can give special preferences to students from exotic locales like Casper, Wyo.—yes, you, Dick Cheney—they will find a way to make some exceptions for students from Harlem. In the end, the conservatives may be right: racial distinctions should not be written into law. But the embrace of our fabulous polychromatic smorgasbord has become an essential part of American society. We cherish it too much to let it slip away.

ВЫПИСКА ИЗ ПРИКАЗА

ПОСЛАНИЯ КОМИТЕТА ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ СССР

За 1988 год





THE SPY WHO KNEW TOO MUCH

The investigation into the death of a Russian dissident in London heats up and sheds an ugly light on Vladimir Putin's rule

BY J.F.O. MCALLISTER LONDON

ALEXANDER LITVINENKO WAS BURIED AS he had lived, in a storm. There was rain, hail and a tornado near Highgate Cemetery in north London on the day his lead-lined coffin was lowered into a plot a few yards from that of another dissident who had sought refuge in Britain, Karl Marx. Before the burial, there was a memorial service at a mosque. Several close friends said Litvinenko had converted to Islam a few days before he died, in a kind of atonement for atrocities Russia (and perhaps Litvinenko himself) had committed in Chechnya, although another doubted any conversion had taken place. Litvinenko's widow Marina had requested a non-denominational service at the graveside, but an imam interrupted the proceedings to perform Islamic rites. Litvinenko, a former Moscow anti-corruption detective turned furious critic of the Russian government, had a talent for controversy.

The dead man in the Highgate Cemetery started feeling ill on Nov. 1. The London doctors who attended Litvinenko's bedside quickly sus-

Illustration for TIME by Jonathon Rosen

pected that some kind of radioactive agent was causing his decline. His hair was falling out, his athlete's body was shriveling, his bone marrow was failing, just as if he had been one of the firemen called to the burning reactor at Chernobyl. But gamma spectrometers found nothing unusual in his blood or urine. As doctors ruled out a slew of increasingly obscure toxins and bugs, the patient's condition worsened. In desperation, the police sent his urine to Britain's Atomic Weapons Establishment, which has equipment beyond the reach of any hospital. There, experts discovered Litvinenko's urine was teeming with radiation—not the gamma rays they had been looking for, which are the usual culprits in radiation poisoning because they can penetrate steel and concrete, but alpha particles, which can be blocked by a single sheet of paper or a layer of human skin. If they get into your bloodstream, though, alpha particles will destroy everything they touch. The Chernobyl occurs inside. This is not a nice way to die.

It was Litvinenko's fate. On Nov. 23, a few hours after the scientists isolated what was causing his body to disintegrate, he succumbed. His was not the quiet, inexplicable demise that a poisoner usually seeks. Instead, those alpha particles, which were shown to come from the rare isotope polonium 210, opened a box of mysteries that have grabbed the world's attention for weeks and turned a gruesome death into the center of a global manhunt and a potential row between Russia and the rest of the world.

The victim had no doubt where the search for his killer would lead: on his deathbed, he said his death had been ordered by Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia. Russian officials have denied that as a malicious provocation. Not surprisingly, Britain is being punctilious about amassing sufficient

evidence before it points a finger in any direction. But if some shadowy figures close to the Kremlin turn out to be responsible for Litvinenko's death, it would be the most astonishing indictment of just how ruthless the modern Russian state can be.

All that, as yet, remains unproven. Meanwhile, a slew of whodunit theories are jostling for prominence. Following an autopsy that spurred the police to treat Litvinenko's death as a murder, Scotland Yard antiterrorism officers have been combing sites all over London, while colleagues traveled to Moscow. "This continues to be an extremely complex investigation, and detectives are pursuing many lines of inquiry," said a police spokeswoman. Litvinenko's excruciating and sinister death and the swirl of international politics around it make this a case worthy of John le Carré, but as the police insist, the classic questions of any murder inquiry still apply: Scotland Yard, in short, is looking for motive, means and opportunity.

Who had a motive?

WHY WOULD ANYONE WANT ALEXANDER LITVINENKO DEAD? To answer that question, investigators are having to immerse themselves in the intrigues of postcommunist Russia and their echoes in London, the favored home away from home for Russian exiles, where Litvinenko sought asylum in 2001. (He became a British citizen two months ago.)

Litvinenko had spent the 1990s as an officer in the élite organized crime unit of the Federal Security Service (FSB), which was tasked with penetrating organized-crime gangs in the murky post-Soviet world of big money and official corruption. Like anyone else who touched that cesspit, he had collected some powerful enemies—and at least one ally. That was Boris Berezovsky, one of



Russia's first billionaires, who made his money in cars and oil partly by using his excellent connections with Boris Yeltsin to buy state assets for much less than they turned out to be worth. In 1994, as his Mercedes was pulling out of his headquarters, a huge car bomb decapitated Berezovsky's chauffeur but left Berezovsky unharmed. Litvinenko was assigned to the case, and over

A POLONIUM PRIMER

Alexander Litvinenko, the former detective and a vocal critic of Russia's government, was killed by radioactive polonium 210, a rare isotope that's harmless in small quantities. As a poison, it's hard to make, but easy to carry and administer

Where does polonium come from? It's a natural element, found in tiny amounts just about everywhere—in air, soil and plants. There's some in your body right now but not nearly enough to cause any harm. Your exposure is a bit higher if you smoke because tobacco leaves concentrate polonium absorbed from the soil and some fertilizers.

Can polonium be manufactured?

Yes, but you need a nuclear reactor and the expertise to shoot neutrons at an element called bismuth 209, which absorbs the neutrons and quickly decays into polonium.

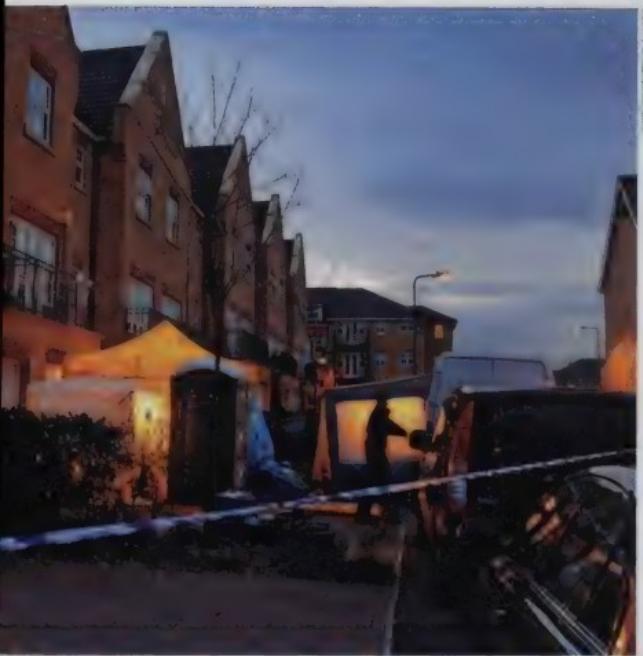
What's it used for? Polonium is often used in devices that remove static electricity from the air. Makers of computer chips, tape and DVDs, for example, all require static-free environments. Polonium also is found in antistatic brushes used in photo labs.

Are those devices dangerous?

Not really. The polonium is encased in another substance, such as gold foil, so rubbing the surface won't contaminate you.

How is polonium transported?

Quite easily, in small quantities. Polonium's radiation can travel only about an inch through the air and can't penetrate skin or even something as thin as tissue paper. That's what makes it so hard to detect. To carry a larger amount would require special equipment. Just half a gram—about two-hundredths of an



time the two men became friendly. In 1995 hit men gunned down Vladislav Listyev, a popular TV personality who also ran Berezovsky's ORT-TV network. Officers from a rival organized-crime squad came to Berezovsky's headquarters to arrest him and search for documents. But in the doorway, with his pistol drawn, Litvinenko held off eight of them armed with Kalashnikovs,

while Berezovsky furiously phoned allies at the Kremlin. Berezovsky said he and Litvinenko became "like brothers" that night.

Litvinenko claimed to have saved Berezovsky's life a second time. In 1998 he said he had refused an order "to kill the Jew who has stolen half of this country"—by which his superiors meant Berezovsky. As a result, Litvinenko believed, an unsuccessful at-

tempt was made on his life. Those claims were made at a surreal press conference at which Litvinenko appeared with six other disgruntled FSB officers. Some wore ski masks, but Litvinenko, his face uncovered, calmly stated that bosses at the FSB were using the organization "for their private ends to liquidate those who bothered them" and line their own pockets.

Was Litvinenko telling the truth, and if so, was that his sole motivation for grabbing the limelight? Later, two of the officers in the episode claimed the stunt was bought and paid for by Berezovsky, which probably only heightened the rage

of the man who had become the FSB's chief—Vladimir Putin. To Putin, a former KGB officer, what Litvinenko had done "was a major act of treason," says former KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin, now an exile in the U.S. after having written about Russia's tilt toward authoritarianism. In his book *The Lubyanka Gang*, Litvinenko, for his part, said he had gone to Putin before the press conference with proof showing which top FSB officers and high state officials were corrupt. Putin, he wrote, promised to take action—but had Litvinenko tailed instead and hired some of those accused of corruption to work for him. FSB officers arrested Litvinenko on corruption charges in 1999, and he was jailed for eight months. At trial, he was acquitted, then rearrested and jailed for an additional seven months on the same charges (which were quashed), then arrested again. He was eventually released on the condition that he did not leave Moscow.



owner would have a temperature of 900°F (500°C).

Is polonium exposure fatal?

Only if you eat or inhale enough of it or have an open wound that gets contaminated.

How much is a lethal dose?

When experts say it takes a lot of polonium to kill you, they're talking on an atomic scale. In-

gesting just one microgram (a one-millionth of a gram) is enough to kill most people. That weighs less than a grain of salt and is smaller than the period at the end of this sentence.

How does polonium kill? Once inside the body, polonium's radiation disrupts the DNA of cells, killing them outright or transforming them into potential cancers. The radiation can't travel very far, but the polonium itself can. The poison moves through the digestive or circulatory systems, spreading damage.

Can polonium poisoning be treated? Yes, but it depends on the amount of exposure and how much time has passed. A high dose could cause organ failure within days.

Is it contagious? No. The only way for polonium poisoning to travel from one person to another would be to eat, inhale, or somehow absorb enough of the victim's bodily fluids to cause illness.

◀ THE PIONEER
Chemists Marie and
Pierre Curie discovered
polonium in 1898



Litvinenko broke that promise. With Putin having succeeded Yeltsin as President, Litvinenko and his family fled to London in October 2000—shortly after Berezovsky, who was later charged in Russia with fraud, had left for Britain. Litvinenko went to work for the billionaire and lived in a house owned by him. Both agitated against Putin, Berezovsky by financing human-rights and opposition groups and Litvinenko by producing two books furiously critical of the new President. Litvinenko, it is fair to say, didn't like Putin. Last summer he claimed in a letter posted on the Internet that the President was a habitual pedophile. Litvinenko also contended that Putin had been on the take from Mafia groups for years and that to advance his presidential ambitions, he had directed FSB officers to blow up apartment buildings in Moscow in 1999, killing

SPY CENTRAL
Russia's security service, formerly the KGB, is based in this Moscow building

TROOP LEADER
Litvinenko, circled, commanded an armed services platoon in 1986

more than 300 people—then pinning the outrage on Chechen rebels. (Putin has vehemently denied any involvement; Russian courts found a group of Chechens guilty of the crimes.) Litvinenko helped make a French film about the apartment bombings and was contributing to a documentary being made in London when he was murdered. This fall Litvinenko had been on the trail of the murderer of Anna Politkovskaya, a persistent critic of Putin's war in Chechnya and human-rights abuses in Russia. Politkovskaya was killed in the doorway of her Moscow apartment in October. Litvinenko was sure the order had come from the Kremlin.

Putin, says Alexei Kondakov, a former KGB general who is now a maverick Duma deputy, is known for keeping score and for a long memory. So the idea that he would

want an infuriating gadfly like Litvinenko to disappear is not beyond reason. But the President's defenders scoff at the idea that he might have been involved in Litvinenko's death. Putin, they say, had no need to get rid of Litvinenko; the exile was an irrelevant crank. Milton Bearden, a former CIA spy in Moscow, as well as other experienced intelligence hands, agrees it would be nuts for Putin—who has had good relations with British Prime Minister Tony Blair—to order an assassination on British soil of a British citizen who was no more than a pest. Says Bearden: "Take a deep breath and take a look at Putin and say, 'Is he stupid or insane?'"

If not Putin, who might want Litvinenko dead? Plenty. Russian Mafia bosses whose networks he was still prying into, for example, or rogue FSB officers who had been paid to rub him out by those who wanted to hurt Berezovsky.

Perhaps the culprit was someone who wanted to frame Putin, or a member of the many factions maneuvering to succeed him when his term expires in 2008. One particularly dark theory making the rounds in Moscow was that Litvinenko organized his own death in a bizarre politically motivated suicide. Julia Svetlichnaya, a

Russian postgraduate student who met with Litvinenko several times over the past year, last week described an erratic man who said he was going to blackmail at least one famous Russian oligarch with the many secrets he was collecting—or sell them to newspapers. Yegor Gaidar, a Prime Minister in the early 1990s and now an occasional critic of Putin's, came to the President's assistance last week when describing how he had fallen violently ill from an apparent poisoning in Dublin on the day Litvinenko died. Writing in the *Financial Times*, Gaidar concluded "that some obvious or hidden adversaries of the Russian authorities stand behind the scenes of this event, those who are interested in further radical deterioration of relations between Russia and the West." His implication was that those same or similar adversaries killed Litvinenko.

Who had the means?

THE POLICE ARE TAKING ALL SUCH CLAIMS with a grain of salt—and turning their attention, rather, to the grains of polonium 210 that are at the center of the case. This is no

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Although erections lasting for more than four hours may occur rarely with all ED treatments in this drug class, to avoid long-term damage, it is important to seek immediate medical help.

In rare instances, men taking PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) report a sudden decrease of loss of vision. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines or to other factors. If you experience sudden decrease or loss of vision stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. Less common are blushing, blurred vision, or being sensitive to light. These may occur for a brief time. Remember to protect yourself and your partner from sexually transmitted diseases.

Please see our patient summary of information for VIAGRA (25 mg, 50 mg, 100 mg) tablets on the following page.

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helpful
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This summary contains important information about VIAGRA®. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. Read this information carefully before you start taking VIAGRA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you do not understand any of this information or if you want to know more about VIAGRA.

This medicine can help many men when it is used as prescribed by their doctors. However, VIAGRA is not for everyone. It is intended for use only by men who have a condition called erectile dysfunction. VIAGRA must never be taken by women and other medicines that contain nitrates may kill you at any time. This includes nitroglycerin. If you take VIAGRA with any nitrate medicine, your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsafe or life threatening level.

• What Is VIAGRA?

VIAGRA is a pill used to treat erectile dysfunction (impotence) in men. It can help many men who have erectile dysfunction get and keep an erection when they become sexually excited (stimulated).

You will not get an erection just by taking this medicine. VIAGRA helps a man with erectile dysfunction get an erection only when he is sexually excited.

• How Sex Affects the Body

When a man is sexually excited, the penis rapidly fills with more blood than usual. The penis then expands and hardens. This is called an erection. After sex, the penis begins to relax. The blood flows out of the penis back into the body. The erection goes away. If an erection lasts for a long time (more than 6 hours), it can permanently damage your penis. You should call a doctor immediately if you ever have a prolonged erection that lasts more than 4 hours.

Some conditions and medicines interfere with this natural erection process. The penis cannot fill with enough blood. The man cannot have an erection. This is called erectile dysfunction if it becomes a frequent problem.

During sex, your heart works harder. Therefore sexual activity may not be advisable for people who have heart problems. Before you start any treatment for erectile dysfunction, ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of having sex. If you have chest pain or feel faint during sex, stop having sex and immediately tell your doctor you have had this problem.

• How VIAGRA Works

VIAGRA enables many men with erectile dysfunction to respond to sexual stimulation. When a man is sexually excited, VIAGRA helps the penis fill with enough blood to cause an erection. After sex is over, the erection goes away.

• VIAGRA Is Not for Everyone

As noted above (*How Sex Affects the Body*), ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough for sexual activity.

If you take any medicines that contain nitrates – either regularly or as needed – you should never take VIAGRA. If you take VIAGRA with any nitrate medicine or recreational drug containing nitrates, your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsafe level. You could get dizzy, faint, or have a heart attack or stroke. Nitrates are found in many prescription medicines that are used to treat angina (chest pain due to heart disease) such as:

- Nitroglycerin (sprays, ointments, skin patches or pastes, and tablets that are swallowed or dissolved in the mouth)
- Isosorbide mononitrate and isosorbide dinitrate (tablets that are swallowed, chewed, or dissolved in the mouth)

Nitrates are also found in recreational drugs such as amyl nitrate or nitrite ("poppers"). If you are not sure if any of your medicines contain nitrates, or if you do not understand what nitrates are, ask your doctor or pharmacist. VIAGRA is only for patients with erectile dysfunction. VIAGRA is not for heart disease or other medical problems. Do not let anyone else take your VIAGRA. VIAGRA must be used only under a doctor's supervision.

• What VIAGRA Does Not Do

- VIAGRA does not cure erectile dysfunction. It is a treatment for erectile dysfunction.
- VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from getting sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV – the virus that causes AIDS.
- VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

• What To Tell Your Doctor Before You Begin VIAGRA

Only your doctor can decide if VIAGRA is right for you. VIAGRA can cause minor temporary loss of your blood pressure. You will need to have an increased risk of having an unsafe erection (penis becoming hard and to feel out if you can safely take VIAGRA alone or with other medicines). Your doctor should determine if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of having sex.

Be sure to tell your doctor if you:

- Have ever had any heart problems (e.g., angina, chest pain, heart failure, irregular heart beats, heart attack or narrowing of the coronary veins).
- Have ever had a stroke.
- Have low or high blood pressure.
- Have ever had severe vision loss.
- Have a rare inherited eye disease called retinitis pigmentosa.
- Have ever had any kidney problems.
- Have ever had any liver problems.
- Have ever had any blood problems, including sickle cell anemia or leukemia.
- Are allergic to sildenafil or any of the other ingredients of VIAGRA tablets.

- Have a deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or ever had an erection that lasted more than 4 hours.
- Have stomach ulcers or any types of bleeding problems.
- Are taking any other medicines.

• VIAGRA and Other Medicines

Some medicines can change the way VIAGRA works. Tell your doctor about any medicines you are taking. Do not start or stop taking any medicines before checking with your doctor or pharmacist. This includes prescription and nonprescription medicines or remedies.

- Remember: VIAGRA should never be used with medicines that contain nitrates (see *VIAGRA Is Not for Everyone*).

- If you are taking medicines called alpha-blockers for the treatment of high blood pressure or prostate problems, your blood pressure could suddenly drop. You could get dizzy or faint.
- If you are taking a prostate inhibitor, your dose may be adjusted (please see *Finding the Right Dose for You*).

- VIAGRA should not be used with any other medical treatments that cause erections. These treatments include pills, medicines that are injected or inserted into the penis, implants or vacuum pumps.

• Finding the Right Dose for You

VIAGRA comes in different doses (25 mg, 50 mg and 100 mg). If you do not get the results you expect, talk with your doctor. You and your doctor can determine the dose that works best for you.

- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor prescribes.
- If you think you need a larger dose of VIAGRA, check with your doctor.
- VIAGRA should not be taken more than once a day.

Your doctor may prescribe a lower dose of VIAGRA in certain circumstances. For example:

- If you are older than age 65, or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg) of VIAGRA.

- If you are taking prostate inhibitors, such as for the treatment of benign prostatic hyperplasia (BPH), your doctor may recommend a 25 mg dose and may limit you to a maximum single dose of 25 mg of VIAGRA in a 48 hour period.

- If you have prostate problems or high blood pressure for which you take medicines called alpha-blockers, your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.

• How To Take VIAGRA

Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you plan to have sex. Beginning in about 30 minutes and for up to 4 hours, VIAGRA can help you get an erection if you are sexually excited. If you take VIAGRA after a high-fat meal (such as a cheeseburger and french fries), the medicine may take a little longer to start working. VIAGRA can help you get an erection when you are sexually excited. You will not get an erection just by taking the pill.

• Possible Side Effects

Like all medicines, VIAGRA can cause some side effects. These effects are usually mild to moderate and usually don't last longer than a few hours. Some of these side effects are more likely to occur with higher doses. The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, flushing of the face, and upset stomach. Less common side effects that may occur are temporary changes in color vision (such as trouble telling the difference between red and green colors or seeing a blue color bright to them), eyes that are more sensitive to light, or blurred vision.

In rare instances, men taking PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines like VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision in one or both eyes. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines, to other factors such as high blood pressure or diabetes, or to a combination of these. If you experience sudden decrease or loss of vision, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

In rare instances, men have reported an erection that lasts many hours. You should call a doctor immediately if you ever have an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. It is not possible to determine if permanent damage to your penis could occur (see *How Sex Affects the Body*).

Heart attacks, stroke, irregular heart beats, and death have been reported rarely in men taking VIAGRA. Most, but not all, of these men had heart problems before taking this medicine. It is not possible to determine whether these events were directly related to VIAGRA.

VIAGRA may cause other side effects besides those listed on this sheet. If you want more information or develop any side effects or symptoms you are concerned about, call your doctor.

• Accidental Overdose

In case of accidental overdose, call your doctor right away.

• Storing VIAGRA

Keep VIAGRA out of the reach of children. Keep VIAGRA in its original container. Store at 25°C (77°F), excursions permitted to 15-30°C (59-86°F) [see USP Controlled Room Temperature].

• For More Information on VIAGRA

VIAGRA is a prescription medicine used to treat erectile dysfunction. Only your doctor can decide if it is right for you. This sheet is only a summary. If you have any questions or want more information about VIAGRA, talk with your doctor or pharmacist. Visit www.viagra.com, or call 1-888-4VIAGRA.

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garden-variety poison: polonium needs a nuclear reactor to cook it up and extremely careful handling. At first, the discovery of the element seemed to hang responsibility on the Kremlin. Russia is a big producer of polonium (although its annual output, less than a hundred grams a year, shows just how rare it is). The element is hard to procure. In the U.S., it takes a government license to buy more than minute quantities, and according to the website of United Nuclear, which sells isotopes for use in research labs, it would take about \$1 million, 15,000 purchases of the largest unlicensed amount and some fancy lab work to scrape together a lethal dose. (The British Health Protection Agency says the dose that killed Litvinenko was at least 10 times as high as that needed to kill.)

Polonium 210 has some prosaic applications; it is used, for example, in antistatic devices found in photo shops and fabric mills. It would be very difficult, but for less than \$1,000, just a few such gizmos could theoretically be disassembled and the contents reworked in a laboratory to produce a lethal dose. To be usable as a poison, Michael Clark, a spokesman for Britain's Health Protection Agency, said last week, the polonium would then have to be mixed in solution, probably with a gelling agent. "If it was some sort of liquid, it could have been—as in James Bond—a little magic capsule,"

Clark said. All this implies considerable sophistication and resources. A rich, ambitious criminal syndicate might have been able to pull it off; nevertheless, normally it is governments that work on this scale. And obscure poisons have long been a specialty of Russia's secret police, going back to a "toxicological office" that reported to Lenin personally. In the past, the Russians were known to have developed a gun delivering a burst of cyanide gas causing death easy to misidentify as a heart attack, and tiny pellets smeared with the poison ricin, which has no antidote.

In retrospect, it would have been a lot less trouble for someone to push Litvinenko under a bus than to feed him polonium. But it's likely his poisoners did not anticipate the brouhaha his death would cause. "I believe this was a botched operation," says Litvinenko's friend Alexander Goldfarb, who helped him escape from Russia and run the Berezovsky-funded International Foundation for Civil Liberties in New York City. Without the intervention of Britain's nuclear-bomb lab, the cause of death would

KREMLIN BOSS
Litvinenko claimed
Putin ordered his
murder, which
Russian officials
have dismissed as
utter nonsense

"The murderers obviously did not expect that the polonium would be found."

—BORIS ZHUYKOV,
Russian radiation scientist



have remained shrouded. Boris Zhukov, chief of the radioisotope laboratory at the Nuclear Research Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, says the discovery that polonium was the cause was "an act of scientific heroism. The murderers obviously did not expect that the polonium would be found. They failed because of the excellence of the English gamma spectrometer and the persistence of the research." (Zhukov says that when he was making these points to Moscow's pro-government NTV network last week, the interview was terminated.)

Who had the opportunity?

SCOTLAND YARD HAS HAD ONE BIG BREAK IN the case: polonium, once released, is like a persistent, invisible dye that marks what-

ever it touches. Someone who ingests even small amounts will leave an unmistakable trail through sweat and even fingerprints. London's gumshoes have spent the past two weeks following such spores all over town—and beyond.

Litvinenko got sick the evening of Nov. 1, when alpha particles were destroying the lining of his gut. As he began to suspect poison, he focused on two meetings he had earlier that day. One was at a sushi bar in central London with Mario Scaramella, 36, an Italian lawyer and, like Litvinenko, a man drawn to the world of secret information and conspiracy theories. The second meeting was in the Pine Bar of the Millennium Hotel, near the U.S. embassy, with a group of Russian businessmen with whom Litvinenko was apparently hatching busi-

ness ventures in Britain. "Alexander said both [meetings] were suspicious, and one was probably innocent," says Goldfarb.

For a time, attention focused on Scaramella, but by the end of last week his level of poisoning and other evidence exculpated him of any suspicion. Instead, the trail of polonium was entangling the group of Russians at the Pine Bar. All seven bartenders on duty that day tested positive for the substance, at levels approaching those found in members of Litvinenko's family, implying they had inhaled it soon after its release—possibly from the vapor given off by a drink into which it had been slipped. The Russians who met Litvinenko in the bar included Andrei Lugovoy, a former KGB bodyguard who had met Litvinenko in the

1990s when serving as Berezovsky's security chief at ORT; Dmitry Kovtun, a former Soviet army officer who has lived in Germany for many years and has known Lugovoy since they were 12; and Vyacheslav Sokolenko, a graduate of the same military school as Lugovoy and Kovtun. Sokolenko says he had never met Litvinenko before their brief encounter in London, and that his only interest that day was to attend a soccer match and do some sightseeing. Both Lugovoy and Kovtun have polonium in their bodies, and so far the main focus is on them; both men (and Sokolenko) deny any wrongdoing.

When Lugovoy learned that British authorities were investigating Litvinenko's poisoning, he volunteered for an interview at the British embassy in Mos-

"This is such an extraordinary material to be using as a weapon," he said, "I'm not sure if any standard operating procedures would exist for handling it." Lugovoy's explanation for the traces that seem to track his progress around London was straightforward. "Someone is trying to set me up," he said to the *Moskovsky Komsomolets* newspaper. "But I can't understand who. Or why."

Nine Scotland Yard detectives were in Moscow last week, trying to talk to Lugovoy. But the interview kept getting postponed for "technical reasons." Cooperation between the Londoners and the Russian authorities has been frosty. Russian prosecutors insisted that they conduct all the interviews, with the British

merely suggesting questions. Prosecutor General Yuri Chaika said no Russian citizens would ever be extradited to Britain in connection with the case, while his office suggested that Russia would open its own criminal investigation in London. Lugovoy and Kovtun were said to be in the hospital with radiation poisoning, but there was no independent confirmation of that. After his interview with the British detectives, Kovtun was reported by the usually reliable Interfax news agency to have lapsed into a coma, but his lawyer quickly denied it. Hamburg police found alpha radiation in the apartment of Kovtun's ex-wife and in the home of his ex-mother-in-law, but were not able to say whether the source was polonium 210. For their part, British officials were hoping further tests might let them pinpoint the origins of the polonium, since reactors usually leave signatures in their output. The forensic trail so far points decisively to Russia. But Scotland Yard knows that pursuing Litvinenko's murder back to those who set it in motion, whether offi-

PAYING RESPECTS
Marina Litvinenko,
with dozens of
mourners, attended
her husband's
funeral at Highgate
Cemetery in London

cial, private or some combination of the two, may never be possible unless someone confesses.

Meanwhile, there is the light-uncomfortably glaring—that the case sheds on modern

Russia. Vladimir Ryzhkov, one of the few independent liberals left in the Duma, says, "The point is not whether Putin is responsible for these concrete murders. The point is that he is responsible for having created a system that is ruled by fear and violence." Ryzhkov claims that the armed forces, Interior Ministry, FSB and those who have retired from them to join private security services "are running this country, own its economy and use violence and murder as habitual management techniques." A U.S. businessman in Moscow seconds the argument. "While you in the press are obsessed by Politkovskaya and Litvinenko, you've missed that half a dozen major oil executives and another half-dozen major bankers have been murdered in the last few months." Unlike Litvinenko's sickness, Russia's may not be fatal. But like his, it starts from inside. From his lead-lined coffin, a shadowy figure has illuminated that much. —With reporting by Timothy J. Burger/Washington, Jessica Carseen/London, Peter Gumbel/Paris, Jeff Israely/Rome and Yuri Zarakhovich/Moscow

“If it was liquid it could have been—as in James Bond—a little magic capsule.”

—MICHAEL CLARK,
British Health Protection Agency



cow. Polonium was later found in the embassy room, and in lots of other places Lugovoy had visited: on planes he had flown between Moscow and London in October; in five rooms at the Sheraton Park Lane hotel, where he had stayed; and in a fourth-floor room at the Millennium Hotel he is said to have used on the day Litvinenko was poisoned. Finding polonium in a hotel Lugovoy had used on a previous trip to London prompted British authorities to wonder if there might have been an earlier, failed murder attempt. A senior British security official thought the sprawl of radioactive markers throughout London and beyond implied an amateur operation, not up to the FSB's usual standard. But another official disagreed.



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NEW DOORS OPENED

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THE MOTORCADE FLEW down Pennsylvania Avenue just after 8 a.m. last Tuesday, sirens screaming and lights flashing—two white police cruisers, five black town cars and a gray staff van. Was it the President? Or the Vice President? Nah—it was just the Iraq Study Group, Washington's new shadow government, on another emergency run, this time from the White House, where its members told George W. Bush how to get out of Iraq, up to Capitol Hill, where they preached bipartisanship and renewed diplomacy—as well as the promise of withdrawal from Iraq by 2008. It's not often that 10 unelected people, all in their 60s and 70s, can supersede the elected government of the U.S., but last week the panel, led by ex-Secretary of State James Baker and former Congressman Lee Hamilton, pulled it off for a couple of days.

Most blue-ribbon studies start gathering dust the minute

“I hope we don’t treat this like a fruit salad and say, ‘I like this, but I don’t like that.’”

—JAMES BAKER

they are printed. This one, with 79 recommendations in just 99 pages, was unveiled on network TV and in the first few days shot up to No. 3 on the Amazon best-seller list. The panel members worked overtime on the launch, doing carefully choreographed rounds of interviews with reporters and anchors before Baker and Hamilton motored back to the Hill to start selling their plan to Congress. The core message: the Bush Administration has to work and think a lot harder to achieve even modest goals

Michael Duffy and Mike Allen

ADVICE AND GRUDGIN



in Iraq—and should start by accepting the report in its entirety. “I hope,” said Baker, “we don’t treat this like a fruit salad and say, ‘I like this, but I don’t like that.’”

The big rollout was designed to exert maximum pressure on the White House because, despite all the fanfare, the report was aimed at an audience of

one—Bush. For most of the week, he looked none too pleased about the round-the-clock talking-to he was getting. As he received the report, he told cameras it was “interesting.” Later he said it has “some very good ideas.” But within a day, he was putting some distance between himself and the best

seller: “I don’t think Jim Baker and Lee Hamilton expect us to accept every recommendation.”

That comment reflected the West Wing’s exceeding bitterness about the report. Some of the pushback was substantive. The suggestions on how to engage directly with Iran and Syria—the parts resisted most

G CONSENT

The Iraq Study Group has its say. Now Bush has to figure out what to do next



GETTING AN EARFUL

Flanked by Hamilton, left, and Baker, Bush described the suggestions as "interesting."

unambiguously by the President—were surprisingly specific and prescriptive, not the platitudes the Administration had expected. Bush aides chafed at the patronizing directive “The President and the leadership of his national-security team should remain in close and frequent contact with the Iraqi

leadership.” Even some Democrats thought that Bush might have a point. “If you want to help the President,” said Paul Goldman, a Democratic strategist. “you give the President a chance to lead. You don’t set it up to look like he got forced into doing something.”

But some White House re-

action was plain personal. This is the second time in six years that Bush has had to turn to Baker to save his skin (the first was Tallahassee in 2000). All the stories about the father’s vaunted foreign-policy team riding in to save the son had become “an irritant,” admitted a senior Administration official.

A former Bush adviser who worked closely with the President speculated that Bush and Karl Rove “don’t want Baker to get instant gratification” and won’t make concessions at the outset. But that will change.

“After the short-term ego fit, he will eventually come around. He is a political realist,” said the former adviser.

So, apparently, is Senator Gordon Smith, a Republican from Oregon who voted for the war. He went to the Senate floor last week to say the Iraq adventure was “absurd...it may even

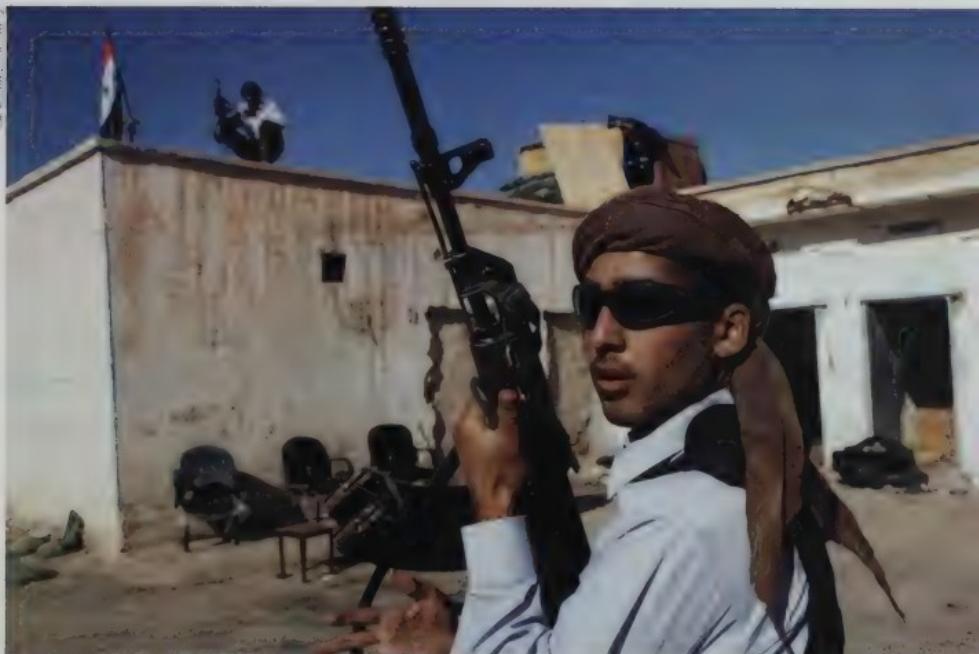
“I don’t think Jim Baker and Lee Hamilton expect us to accept every recommendation.”

—GEORGE W. BUSH

be criminal.” A few more speeches like that by Republicans, and the debate about a course correction will be over.

Already, Bush and his aides have promised changes. He said he would give a pre-Christmas speech that would chart what he last week alternately called “a new course” and “a new way forward.” A presidential adviser said the address would include “a new policy direction but no apology.” A senior Administration official said some aides hope for a note of contrition (“Things haven’t turned out the way I intended”) similar to Ronald Reagan’s 1987 mea culpa after the Tower Commission concluded that his inattention had contributed to the Iran-contra arms scandal.

“They know this is the time,” the official said, of Bush’s inner circle. “We’re not going to have many of them left. This is the moment. We have to take these recommendations and show that we’re listening. They know that.”



WORLD

LOOKING THE OTHER WAY

The U.S. wants to turn over security to the Iraqis. But that sometimes means ignoring their crimes

By MARK KUKIS BAGHDAD

CAPTAIN ADAM GRIM READIES HIS MEN for a nighttime raid in Mekanik, a gritty neighborhood in southern Baghdad. The target: suspected militia safe house. Grim's platoon won't be leading the raid, however. Instead, the Americans will be supporting Iraqi forces led by a wiry police commander named Colonel Salih Hashim. Hashim

knows the neighborhood well and chose the target himself. Together the two men discuss the plan one last time. Hashim and his men will storm the house while Grim's platoon secures the street outside and provides cover.

The raid should be a model of U.S.-Iraqi cooperation, capturing bad guys while building the confidence and skills of the Iraqi police. But there's a problem. Grim has reason to believe that in the daily struggle between U.S. forces and the armed

DEFENDING A PRECINCT
Locals in Ramadi are joining the police force in large numbers to fight against insurgents

Shi'ite groups suspected of carrying out most of the executions in the area, Hashim "plays both sides." Grim certainly doesn't trust Hashim and suspects him, at the very least, of giving ammunition to Shi'ite gunmen and sometimes even letting them sleep in the same Iraqi police compound where U.S. troops meet with Hashim during the day.

There are now more than 4,000 U.S. soldiers serving as advisers to Iraqi security forces. If the recommendations made by the Iraq Study Group are put into practice, that number will grow substantially. The Baker commission's report calls for the number of U.S. troops embedded with Iraqi units to increase to as many as 20,000 over the next year. The report argues that boosting the number of advisers will lead to improvements in the quality of Iraqi forces and pave the way for a pullback of all U.S. troops from the front lines by 2008.

But based on where Iraq's forces stand today, such a timetable is wildly optimistic. Iraq's 300,000-strong security forces—in particular the national police,

which is overseen by the Interior Ministry—have been so thoroughly infiltrated by militias that some U.S. trainers will have to bring in new recruits and retrain much of the current batch before they can turn combat responsibilities over to the Iraqis. There are already concerns that by rushing to strengthen the Iraqis, U.S. forces may be ignoring abuses committed by the very people they're training. "I am greatly concerned that U.S. aid—including weapons—has gone to Iraqi security forces who have violated human rights," says Senator Patrick Leahy, a senior Democrat from Vermont who sits on the Senate Appropriations Committee. "We want to build up the Iraqi forces, but that does not mean we should support people who commit atrocities."

Mekanik. Before the U.S. cordon went into effect, there had been up to eight murders a day in the district of 50,000 inhabitants, and Sunni mosques were frequently attacked by Shi'ite gunmen. The Army says that as soon as the police left, Mekanik's murder rate dropped about 60%, and the mosque attacks stopped altogether.

The question now is whether the U.S. can rebuild a force that is trusted enough to take back responsibility for the neighborhood. U.S. troops who work with Iraqi security forces sometimes investigate and even arrest Iraqi police. The Pentagon

points out that Iraq's Interior Ministry has fired or suspended roughly 3,000 officers for offenses ranging from corruption to "breaking the law." But a senior official at the ministry who spoke to TIME on the condition of anonymity says the dismissals were little more than a charade. Police officers who quit for their own reasons accounted for about 500 of the supposed dismissals, he says. Most of the others the ministry let go were employees with medical problems or nearing retirement. Virtually nothing had been done to remove ministry officials implicated in abuses ranging from mistreatment of detainees to working with death squads.

That leaves the job of cajoling good behavior from Iraqi police largely in the hands of junior officers like Grim, 28. The square-jawed West Point grad from Orange Park, Fla., is on his second tour in Iraq. He says his job is something equivalent to "armed social work." He feels responsible not just for making arrests and advising Iraqi soldiers but also for protecting the civilians of Mekanik. So while he says he trusts most of the officers, it's clear that he lives uneasily with the possibility that at least some of the Iraqis may be accomplices to murder when he's not around.

The raid with Hashim—the first such joint operation since Iraqi police were allowed back into the district—was typically disquieting. The house, it turns out, was empty. Grim and the other U.S. soldiers walked away uncertain about what had happened. It could have been an honest mistake, but the Americans couldn't help wondering whether Hashim was really looking for "terrorists," as he claimed. Maybe he was looking for a Sunni family to rough up, Grim says. Or perhaps the raid was just a diversion to keep U.S. troops busy while crimes were committed elsewhere in the neighborhood.

Still, the level of mistrust between U.S. and Iraqi forces runs so high that some U.S. soldiers speak openly about the possibility that they could be led into an ambush or attacked directly by the same police officers they have armed and trained. Grim says he doesn't share that concern because Hashim and his men know that Grim's platoon is ready for any situation. "It goes back to trusting your fellow American soldier to watch your back and keep you out of trouble," says Grim. "If the police did turn on us during a patrol, it would be the last thing they ever had the misfortune of doing." In today's Iraq, that may be as close as U.S. and Iraqi troops come to a mutual understanding.

CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE
Grim, below, who advises Iraqi officers in southern Baghdad, calls his job "armed social work."



"The bottom line was—whether true or false—the people did not trust the national police."

—LIEUT. COLONEL JEFFREY PETERSON,
on local attitudes in Baghdad

The experience of the troops assigned to Mekanik, a mixed neighborhood that is home to both the powerful Shi'ite Mahdi Army and a Sunni militant group called the Omar Brigade, illustrates the U.S.'s dilemmas. The neighborhood had suffered months of killing between Sunnis and Shi'ites before U.S. forces found a solution: to make the murders stop, keep the cops, who were overwhelmingly Shi'ite, out. Lieut. Colonel Jeffrey Peterson, the U.S. troop commander for Mekanik, says, "Whenever we would talk to locals about [the violence], they always implicated the national police as starting it. I could never prove it. But the bottom line was—whether it was true or false—the people did not trust the national police." In early October the Americans created what they called an isolation zone, ordering all police out of

THREAT	RELEASED	DECEASED	THREAT	RELEASED	DECEASED	THREAT	RELEASED	DECEASED
W32.M.Rodric.C	8/14/06	7/19/06	Trojan.Gobrena.B	7/18/06	7/18/06	SymbOS.Damping.D	6/28/06	6/30/06
Backdoor.Ranty.X	8/14/06	8/14/06	Trojan.Clagger.B	7/18/06	7/18/06	W32.Expat.Launchd	6/28/06	6/30/06
W32.SnorpeL-B	8/14/06	8/14/06	AT.T.SparrowFlash	7/18/06	7/18/06	W32.Ircress.Primm	6/28/06	6/30/06
W32.Kewebot	8/14/06	8/14/06	SWF.Spaceflash	7/18/06	7/18/06	Trojan.Zulu.i	6/28/06	6/30/06
Trojan.Resonator	8/14/06	8/14/06	Trojan.PPTdropper.C	7/18/06	7/18/06	SymbOS.Cropper.I	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Exonds	8/14/06	8/14/06	Trojan.Killer.F	7/18/06	7/18/06	SymbOS.Cropper.G	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Bounds	8/14/06	8/14/06	Trojan.Fuzzie	7/18/06	7/18/06	SymbOS.Cropper.K	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Bound	8/14/06	8/14/06	Perl.Raumentj	7/18/06	7/18/06	SymbOS.Cropper.F	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Santy.U	8/14/06	8/14/06	Backdoor.Bifrose.F	7/18/06	7/18/06	SymbOS.Cropper.J	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.M.Kukurov.B	8/14/06	8/14/06	Trojan.Relmtec	7/18/06	7/18/06	Trojan.Zlagger	6/28/06	6/30/06
Bloodhound.Exploit.75	8/14/06	8/14/06	W32.Dozic	7/18/06	7/18/06	W32.Resik.A	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Shadowmm	8/14/06	8/14/06	Backdoor.Haxdoor.N	7/18/06	7/18/06	Trojan.Ironmarken.K	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Muninf	8/14/06	8/14/06	Trojan.PPDropper.B	7/18/06	7/18/06	Bak-koton.Graybin.S	6/28/06	6/29/06
W32.Muni!								
Infostealer								
Infostealer								
W32.Hogg								
Trojan.Emi								
W32.Chant								
Trojan.Emi								
W32.Drag								
Trojan.Agl								
Trojan.Agl								
Trojan.Pre								
Firnavo.Ex								
W32.Dbit								
Backdoor.								
W32.Kewin								
Trojan.PPD								
Trojan.Kec								
Backdoor.								
W32.Mulli								
Backdoor.								
Infostealer								
Downloader								
W32.Amir								
W32.bargel								
Trojan.Agentdoc.C	7/25/06	7/25/06	SymbOS.Sneakboot.W	7/4/06	7/5/06	Backdoor.Ripstop	6/13/06	6/23/06
Backdoor.Savon	7/24/06	7/24/06	SymbOS.Sneakboot.V	7/4/06	7/5/06	SymbOS.Cattripplus	6/23/06	6/23/06
Backdoor.Terverv	7/24/06	7/25/06	W32.Sabre	7/4/06	7/5/06	SymbOS.Cropper.A	6/23/06	6/23/06
Backdoor.Haxdoor.O	7/23/06	7/24/06	W32.Sabre	7/2/06	7/3/06	W32.Krasus	6/22/06	6/23/06
Fer.Kruel	7/23/06	7/24/06	SymbOS.Cropper.Q	7/2/06	7/3/06	Trojan.Etomek	6/22/06	6/22/06
VBS.Axolut	7/22/06	7/23/06	W32.Sixem.Cream	7/2/06	7/3/06	W32.Americavet.Eisheim	6/22/06	6/22/06
MSB.Lazbrokstint	7/21/06	7/22/06	W32.Amirecovl.Fremm	7/2/06	7/3/06	W32.BeagleJ.Gamm	6/21/06	6/22/06
MSB.PibyzLnt	7/21/06	7/22/06	Trojan.Deophiv	7/1/06	7/2/06	SymbOS.Romimde.F	6/21/06	6/22/06
Backdoor.Glupzy	7/21/06	7/21/06	Trojan.Emeoces.E	7/1/06	7/2/06	SymbOS.Romimde.H	6/21/06	6/22/06
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Trojan.Mitropper.L	7/20/06	7/20/06	SymbOS.Cropper.P	6/30/06	7/1/06	infostealer.Natimews	6/20/06	6/21/06
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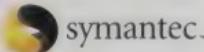
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Richard N. Haass

How to Avoid Iraq Syndrome

Yes, the war is a disaster. But let's not lose sight of America's global primacy

NOT MUCH ABOUT IRAQ CAN BE PREDICTED WITH CONFIDENCE, but this much can: for the foreseeable future, it will be a messy country with a weak central government, a divided society and regular violence. At worst, as the Iraq Study Group report warns, Iraq will become a failed state racked by civil war that could spill over and engulf several of its neighbors.

Either way, the human, economic, political and military costs of the Iraq war will mount. Scenes of chaos and human misery in Iraq would fuel bitterness against the U.S., first for having initiated the war, then for leaving Iraqis to their terrible fate. The domestic American reaction would be

one of relief at being out of a terrible situation, but anger at having been involved in the

But it is important not to exaggerate the likely consequences of Iraq's endgame for the U.S. America will remain the world's most powerful country regardless of how Iraq turns out and how much U.S. foreign policy is blamed for it. The U.S. will continue to enjoy a benign international context in which it faces no great power rival, as it did throughout the cold war and as great powers have traditionally done throughout history. And ironically, the winding down of the U.S. involvement in Iraq will have a salutary effect—namely, it will slow the draw on American economic, diplomatic and military resources, all of which are in dire need of replenishment.

In fact, U.S. diplomacy will in some ways be liberated as American involvement in Iraq recedes. The U.S. could, if it so chose, be an effective proponent for Arab-Israeli peace. If the U.S. and Iran prove able to cooperate over Iraq, they might manage broader talks on other issues that divide them, including Iran's nuclear program. Outside the region, more must be done to lessen the odds that Afghanistan will go the way of Iraq. The Bush Administration could table a comprehensive package of requirements and assurances regarding North Korea and directly negotiate them with its leaders. New ideas could also be put forward about how best to resurrect international-trade talks, tackle global climate change, stop

genocide in Darfur and reduce American dependence on imported oil.

Here again, the Vietnam parallel may be relevant. Defeat in Vietnam did not prevent the U.S. from maintaining close cooperative relationships with other regional countries, including Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. Nor did it stop the U.S. from forging sometimes productive ties with Vietnam's backers (including China and what was then the Soviet Union) or, with the passage of time, with Vietnam itself. Today Asia is the most dynamic part of the world, and the U.S. is a central participant in that dynamism.

Even more than Vietnam 30 years ago, Iraq constitutes a major strategic setback. There is no getting around this. But Iraq is just that—a setback. What is essential is that the U.S. cut its losses there, contain the consequences and look for new opportunities to advance its interests around the world. The sooner the post-Iraq era of U.S. foreign policy dawns, the better.

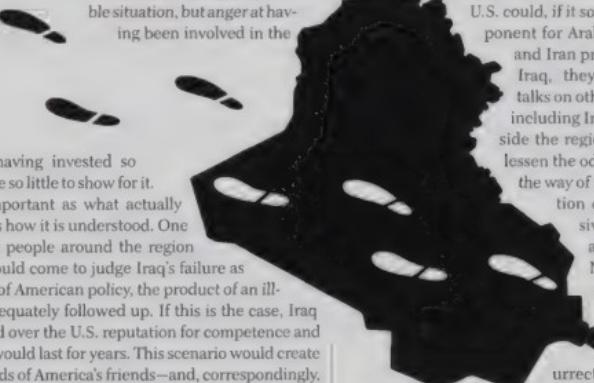
first place and having invested so much, only to have so little to show for it.

Almost as important as what actually happens in Iraq is how it is understood. One possibility is that people around the region and the world would come to judge Iraq's failure as largely the result of American policy, the product of an ill-advised war inadequately followed up. If this is the case, Iraq would cast a cloud over the U.S. reputation for competence and reliability, and it would last for years. This scenario would create doubts in the minds of America's friends—and, correspondingly, increase the assertiveness of its foes.

An alternative view is that the lion's share of responsibility for what has taken place in Iraq over the past few years belongs to the Iraqis themselves. Under this narrative, the U.S. would be seen as having failed there less for any lack of effort or resolve than for the absence of an effective national partner. This narrative is more likely to take hold if the U.S. publicly sets clear benchmarks for what Iraqis must accomplish regarding political reform and security performance and what they should expect if they come up short.

Whichever story line prevails, the intensity of today's anti-Americanism would fade as Iraq recedes from center stage. The domestic American reaction may persist somewhat longer, however. There is the possibility of an Iraq syndrome, akin to the reaction that followed the U.S. involvement in Vietnam a generation ago. That defeat led Americans and their representatives to be wary of new overseas undertakings.

Haass is president of the Council on Foreign Relations



Lisa Beyer

The Big Lie About the Middle East

Tell James Baker: Arab nations don't care about the Palestinians

NO SENSIBLE PERSON IS AGAINST PEACEMAKING IN THE Holy Land. Applause and hopefulness would seem the reasonable reaction to the Iraq Study Group's recommendation that the Bush Administration "act boldly" and "as soon as possible" to resolve the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians. But as a front-row observer of similar efforts over the past 15 years, I could muster neither response. In lumping the Iraq mess in with the Palestinian problem—and suggesting the first could not be fixed unless the second was too—the Baker-Hamilton commission lent credibility to a corrosive myth: that the fundamental problem in the Arab world is the plight of the Palestinians.

It is a falsehood perpetuated not just by the likes of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, who came late to the slogan after their actual beefs—Saddam with his neighbors; bin Laden with the Saudi royals—gained insufficient traction in the Arab world. The mantra is also repeated like an axiom in the U.S.—in parts of the State Department, in various think tanks, by editorial writers and Sunday talk-show hosts.

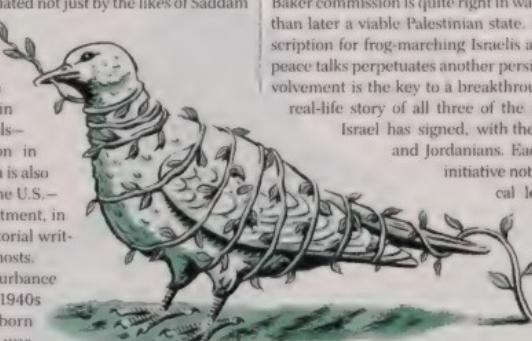
Yes, it was a great disturbance in the Arab world in the 1940s when a Jewish state was born through a U.N. vote and a war that made refugees of many Palestinians. Then the 1967 war left Israel in control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and thus the Palestinians who lived there. But the pan-Arabism that once made the Palestinian cause the region's cause is long dead, and the Arab countries have their own worries aplenty. In a decade of reporting in the region, I found it rarely took more than the arching of an eyebrow to get the most candid of Arab thinkers to acknowledge that the tears shed for the Palestinians today outside the West Bank and Gaza are of the crocodile variety. Palestinians know this best of all.

To promote the canard that the troubles of the Arab world are rooted in the Palestinians' misfortune does great harm. It encourages the Arabs to continue to avoid addressing their colossal societal and political ills by hiding behind their Great Excuse: it's all Israel's fault. Certainly, Israel has at times been an obnoxious neighbor, but God help the Arab leaders, propagandists and apologists if a day ever comes when the Arab-Israeli mess is unraveled. One wonders how they would then explain why in Egypt 4 of every 10 people are illiterate; Saudi Arabian Shi'ites (not to mention women) are second-class citi-

zens; 11% of Syrians live below subsistence level; and Jordan's King can unilaterally dissolve Parliament, as he did in 2001. Or why no Middle Eastern government but Israel's and to some extent Lebanon's tolerates freedom of assembly or speech, or democratic institutions like a robust press or civic organizations with independence and clout—let alone unfettered competitive elections.

One might argue that if the Arab dictators were deprived of the Great Excuse, they might begin to rule with greater concern for their constituents' needs. But why should they be allowed to wait—in the meantime cynically selling their people the Israel Myth—especially since the wait is apt to be long? The Baker commission is quite right in wanting to see sooner rather than later a viable Palestinian state. But the report's airy prescription for frog-marching Israelis and Palestinians into new peace talks perpetuates another persistent fiction: that U.S. involvement is the key to a breakthrough. That contradicts the real-life story of all three of the major peace agreements

Israel has signed, with the Egyptians, Palestinians and Jordanians. Each was the result of bold initiative not by Washington but by local leaders, when conditions were ripe. In all three cases, the accords were the product of negotiations begun in secret behind the backs of the Americans. The Oslo accords with the



Palestinians ultimately fell apart, but not because of a collapse of U.S. diplomacy: rather, because of a failure of leadership by Yasser Arafat.

The Israelis and Palestinians aren't going to make peace until they have brave, inspiring leaders, which they don't, and when they are sick of fighting, which they aren't. When that time comes, the U.S. can facilitate negotiations, as it has before, but only if it re-establishes its reputation as a reasonably honest broker. In the past, Washington tilted to the Israeli side but not so much that the Palestinians couldn't live with it. President Bush has turned the tilt into a slap-down. He says he supports Palestinian statehood, but the Palestinians don't hear the words; they grasp the lack of feeling he evinces for them. They take in the unprecedented silences in Washington when Israeli forces overreact; they wince at White House endorsements of what the U.S. used to call illegal Jewish settlements in the West Bank. If James Baker had wanted to improve U.S. policy toward the Palestinians, he might have whispered these things into Bush's ear instead of sucking up to the Arab states with his inappropriate and quixotic peace plan.



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HYUNDAI

Why It's Dangerous For the Maverick To Be the ...



Front Runner

John McCain was a straight-talking upstart in the 2000 presidential election. Now he's poised to be the G.O.P. favorite for 2008, but at what cost?

AS A RALLYING CRY, "COMMON SENSE CONSERVATISM" DOESN'T HAVE QUITE the ring of "Straight Talk Express." But the new slogan on the website of John McCain's presidential exploratory committee—a slogan he manages to repeat at least three times in every speech he gives these days—tells you all you need to know about how different this presidential campaign will be from his last one. McCain '08 will be a bigger, more conventional operation—a tank, not a slingshot. The prevailing wisdom about McCain used to be that his bipartisan appeal would make him a sure bet in a presidential race—if only he could get past the Republican primary. But as more and more of the party establishment climbs aboard a campaign that McCain has not yet even formally launched, it's starting to look as if the opposite may be true. By trying to become the perfect candidate for the primaries, McCain could be creating difficulties for himself in a general election.

His hard-line position on Iraq is a perfect case in point. McCain has continued to press for more troops there, and spent last week dismissing the Iraq Study Group recommendation to bring them home as nothing short of a recipe for

defeat. That's the kind of strong, consistent hawkishness that G.O.P. primary voters look for. "Besides," says McCain strategist Mark Salter, "it's what he believes." The problem is that exit polls in last month's election said only 17% of voters overall share that view, which could leave the other 83% wondering whether McCain's famous independent streak, so appealing on most issues, would be such a good thing to have in a Commander in Chief who has the power to take the country to war. Already there are signs that his image is taking a hit. In the CBS/New York Times poll, McCain's favorability rating slid 6 points, to 28%, between January and September.

McCain insists that he has always been more conservative than many of his fans believe him to be. But the most important perception people have about McCain is not about ideology; it's about integrity. After staking his reputation on the moral high ground by speaking truth to power on issues ranging from deficits to torture, McCain is uniquely vulnerable to anything that hints of hypocrisy—even on questions that ordinary politicians would get a pass on. To have a shot at winning a presidential election these days, for instance, it is nearly a requirement that candidates opt out of the federal finance system, forgoing its matching funds because it's too difficult to mount a credible campaign within the law's spending caps. But that move, however pragmatic, would look bad coming from an author of the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance-reform law.

Also, it's harder for McCain than most

FINDING HIS WAY McCain, the onetime insurgent, is now the Establishment pick

to explain away inconsistencies. How, for example, could a deficit hawk vote to make President Bush's tax credits permanent after opposing their passage in the first place as fiscally irresponsible? Or why, after declaring Jerry Falwell to be an agent of intolerance during the brutal 2000 primary campaign, did McCain deliver the commencement speech last May at Falwell's Liberty University in Virginia?

Such overtures might make inroads in a skeptical Republican base, but these shifts make some of his longtime allies worry. "A profile in courage can become a profile in unrestrained ambition," says former Reagan White House chief of staff Ken Duberstein, who was one of the few G.O.P. establishment figures to support McCain's 2000 presidential campaign. "He has to remember who his friends are and not spend his integrity on one-night stands with those who will never fully trust him."

Critics pounced last week when McCain let it be known that he has lined up a top G.O.P. operative to run his campaign—Terry Nelson, who was national political director for President Bush's 2004 campaign. "Terry's a great get," says Salter. "He's a good, savvy, very disciplined, smart guy with a lot of experience." Nelson is yet another recruit from the once antagonistic Bush operation, and more evidence that the party establishment is falling into place behind McCain. But Nelson is known for hardball tactics that don't exactly square with the Arizona Senator's white-knight image.

Most recently, Nelson oversaw the Republican National Committee's independ-

ent expenditure operation, which produced the most notorious ad of the 2006 campaign. In it, a bare-shouldered white actress claimed that she had met the black Senate candidate Harold Ford at a Playboy party. The ad ended with the blond cooing, "Harold, call me." The resulting protest by black leaders and union groups was enough to force Wal-Mart to sever its ties with Nelson, who had been a consultant for the company's campaign to improve its image. Ford lost the election.

McCain strategists say they will all be taking their lead from the candidate, not the other way around. "Any campaign has to be a reflection of who the candidate is," Nelson says. In 2000, McCain ran his insurgent operation out of a dilapidated headquarters just outside D.C. that had previously been occupied by homeless people. Now, as the front runner, he faces a different set of expectations. Nearly from Day One, he will have to have full-fledged operations up and running in 15 or 20 states. Last time around he could skip Iowa to focus on staging an upset in New Hampshire, but this time McCain will have to compete—and avoid losing his balance—on every battleground. Says an aide: "We will go wherever one vote is available."

While the Republican Party has a history of anointing its candidates early, this rarely happens without a fight. "It's easy to throw the bombs," says G.O.P. pollster Tony

Fabrizio. "It's tough to be the front runner every day." For McCain, the biggest potential threats at the moment appear to be Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, who is getting good buzz on the right but is largely unknown even to Republicans, and former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, who comes out ahead of McCain in many polls but has yet to begin building much of a campaign operation.

McCain's forces say they are preparing for all challengers. But what will it cost him? That's a question that McCain himself has struggled with. There was a time just a few years back when he would tell people he didn't think he wanted to run for President again. Not because he was getting too old. And not because he didn't think he could win. McCain thought it just couldn't possibly be as much fun as it was the first time around. He would say wistfully, "You can't bottle lightning." But while he may be in a better position to win now, he'll still need some of that old electrical charge to do it. —With reporting by James Carney/Washington

How to Bring Our Schools Out of the 20th Century

{ By CLAUDIA WALLIS and SONJA STEPTOE }

THREE'S A DARK LITTLE JOKE EXCHANGED BY EDUCATORS WITH a dissident streak: Rip Van Winkle awakens in the 21st century after a hundred-year snooze and is, of course, utterly bewildered by what he sees. Men and women dash about, talking to small metal devices pinned to their ears. Young people sit at home on sofas, moving miniature athletes around on electronic screens. Older folk defy death and disability with metronomes in their chests and with hips made of metal and plastic. Airports, hospitals, shopping malls—every place Rip goes just baffles him. But when he finally walks into a schoolroom, the old man knows exactly where he is. "This is a school," he declares. "We used to have these back in 1906. Only now the blackboards are green."

Photographs for TIME by Jason Fulford and Paul Sahre



American schools aren't exactly frozen in time, but considering the pace of change in other areas of life, our public schools tend to feel like throwbacks. Kids spend much of the day as their great-grandparents once did: sitting in rows, listening to teachers lecture, scribbling notes by hand, reading from textbooks that are out of date by the time they are printed. A yawning chasm (with an emphasis on yawning) separates the world inside the schoolhouse from the world outside.

For the past five years, the national conversation on education has focused on reading scores, math tests and closing the "achievement gap" between social classes. This is not a story about that conversation. This is a story about the big public conversation the nation is *not* having about education, the one that will ultimately determine not merely whether some fraction of our children get "left behind" but also whether an entire generation of kids will fail to make the grade in the global economy because they can't think their way through abstract problems, work in teams, distinguish good information from bad or speak a language other than English.

This week the conversation will burst onto the front page, when the New Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, a high-powered, bipartisan assembly of Education Secretaries and business, government and other education leaders releases a blueprint for rethinking American education from pre-K to 12 and beyond to better prepare students to thrive in the global economy. While that report includes some controversial proposals, there is nonetheless a remarkable consensus among educators and business and policy leaders on one key conclusion: we need to bring what we teach and how we teach into the 21st century.

Right now we're aiming too low. Competency in reading and math—the focus of so much No Child Left Behind (NCLB) testing—is the meager minimum. Scientific and technical skills are, likewise, utterly necessary but insufficient. Today's economy demands not only a high-level competence in the traditional academic disciplines but also what might be called 21st century skills. Here's what they are:

Knowing more about the world. Kids are global citizens now, even in small-town America, and they must learn to act that way. Mike Eskew, CEO of UPS, talks about needing workers who are "global trade literate, sensitive to foreign cultures, conversant in different languages"—not exactly strong points in the U.S., where fewer than half of high school students are enrolled in

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AND MYSPACE

a foreign-language class and where the social-studies curriculum tends to fixate on U.S. history.

Thinking outside the box. Jobs in the new economy—the ones that won't get outsourced or automated—"put an enormous premium on creative and innovative skills, seeing patterns where other people see only chaos," says Marc Tucker, an author of the skills-commission report and president of the National Center on Education and the Economy. Traditionally that's been an American strength, but schools have become less daring in the back-to-basics climate of NCLB. Kids also must learn to think across disciplines, since that's where most new breakthroughs are made. It's interdisciplinary combinations—design and technology, mathematics and art—"that produce YouTube and Google," says Thomas Friedman, the best-selling author of *The World Is Flat*.





Becoming smarter about new sources of information. In an age of overflowing information and proliferating media, kids need to rapidly process what's coming at them and distinguish between what's reliable and what isn't. "It's important that students know how to manage it, interpret it, validate it, and how to act on it," says Dell executive Karen Bruett, who serves on the board of the Partnership for 21st Century Skills, a group of corporate and education leaders focused on upgrading American education.

Developing good people skills. EQ, or emotional intelligence, is as important as IQ for success in today's workplace. "Most innovations today involve large teams of people," says former Lockheed Martin CEO Norman Augustine. "We have to emphasize communication skills, the ability to work in teams and with people from different cultures."

Can our public schools, originally designed to educate workers for agrarian life and industrial-age factories, make the necessary shifts? The skills commission will argue that it's possible only if we add new depth and rigor to our curriculum and standardized exams, redeploy the dollars we spend on education, reshape the teaching force and reorganize who runs the schools. But without waiting for such a revolution, enterprising administrators around the country have begun to update their schools, often with ideas and support from local businesses. The state of Michigan, conceding that it can no longer count on the ailing auto industry to absorb its poorly educated and low-skilled workers, is retooling its high schools, instituting what are among the most rigorous graduation requirements in the nation. Elsewhere, organizations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Asia Society are pouring money and expertise into model programs to show the way.

What It Means to Be a Global Student

Quick! How many ways can you combine nickels, dimes and pennies to get 20¢? That's the challenge for students in a second-grade math class at Seattle's John Stanford International School, and hands are flying up with answers. The students sit at tables of four manipulating play money. One boy shouts "10 plus 10"; a girl offers "10 plus 5 plus 5"; only it sounds like this: "*Ju, tasu, go, tasu, go*." Down the hall, third-graders are learning to interpret charts and graphs showing how many hours of sleep people need at different ages. "*Cuantas*

horas duerme un bebé?" asks the teacher Sabrina Storlie.

This public elementary school has taken the idea of global education and run with it. All students take some classes in either Japanese or Spanish. Other subjects are taught in English, but the content has an international flavor. The school pulls its 393 students from the surrounding highly diverse neighborhood and by lottery from other parts of the city. Generally, its scores on state tests are at or above average, although those exams barely scratch the surface of what Stanford students learn.

Before opening the school seven years ago, principal Karen Kodama surveyed 1,500 business leaders on which languages to teach (plans for Mandarin were dropped for lack of classroom space) and which skills and disciplines. "No. 1 was technology," she recalls. Even first-graders at Stanford begin to use PowerPoint and Internet tools. "Exposure to world cultures was also an important trait cited by the executives," says Kodama, so that instead of circling back to the Pilgrims and Indians every autumn, children at Stanford do social-studies units on Asia, Africa, Australia, Mexico and South America. Students actively apply the lessons in foreign language and culture by video-conferencing with sister schools in Japan, Africa and Mexico, by exchanging messages, gifts and joining in charity projects.

Stanford International shows what's possible for a public elementary school, although it has the rare advantage of support from corporations like Nintendo and Starbucks, which contribute to its \$1.7 million-a-year budget. Still, dozens of U.S. school districts have found ways to orient some of their students toward the global economy. Many have opened schools that offer the international baccalaureate (I.B.) program, a rigorous, off-the-shelf curriculum recognized by universities around the world and first introduced in 1968—well before globalization became a buzzword.

To earn an I.B. diploma, students must prove written and spoken proficiency in a second language, write a 4,000-word college-level research paper, complete a real-world service project and pass rigorous oral and written subject exams. Courses offer an international perspective, so even a lesson on the American Revolution will interweave sources from Britain and France with views from the Founding Fathers. "We try to build something we call international mindedness," says Jeffrey Beard, director general of the International Baccalaureate Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. "These

are students who can grasp issues across national borders. They have an understanding of nuances and complexity and a balanced approach to problem solving." Despite stringent certification requirements, I.B. schools are growing in the U.S.—from about 350 in 2000 to 682 today. The U.S. Department of Education has a pilot effort to bring the program to more low-income students.

Real Knowledge in the Google Era

Learn the names of all the rivers in South America. That was the assignment given to Deborah Stipek's daughter Meredith in school, and her mom, who's dean of the Stanford University School of Education, was not impressed. "That's silly," Stipek told her daughter. "Tell your teacher that if you need to know anything besides the Amazon, you can look it up on Google." Any number of old-school assignments—memorizing the battles of the Civil War or the periodic table of the elements—now seem faintly absurd. That kind of information, which is poorly retained unless you routinely use it, is available at a keystroke. Still, few would argue that an American child shouldn't learn the causes of the Civil War or understand how the periodic table reflects the atomic structure and properties of the elements. As school critic E.D. Hirsch Jr. points out in his book, *The Knowledge Deficit*, kids need a substantial fund of information just to make sense of reading materials beyond the grade-school level. Without mastering the fundamental building blocks of math, science or history, complex concepts are impossible.

Many analysts believe that to achieve the right balance between such core knowledge and what educators call "portable skills"—critical thinking, making connections between ideas and knowing how to keep on learning—the U.S. curriculum needs to become more like that of Singapore, Belgium and Sweden, whose students outperform American students on math and science tests. Classes in these countries dwell on key concepts that are taught in depth and in careful sequence, as opposed to a succession of forgettable details so often served in U.S. classrooms. Textbooks and tests support this approach. "Countries from Germany to Singapore have extremely small textbooks that focus on the most powerful and generative ideas," says Roy Pea, codirector of the Stanford Center for Innovations in Learning. These might be the key theorems in math, the laws of thermodynamics in science or the relationship be-

IN THIS MEDIA-DRENCHED ERA OF BLOGS AND PODCASTS, GOOGLE SEARCHES AND INSTANT MESSAGES, YOUNG PEOPLE NEED TO ACQUIRE A NEW SET OF LITERACY SKILLS THAT ALLOWS THEM TO LOCATE INFORMATION, SORT THROUGH IT QUICKLY AND, MOST IMPORTANT, DETERMINE WHICH SOURCES ARE RELIABLE AND WHICH ONES AREN'T

tween supply and demand in economics. America's bloated textbooks, by contrast, tend to gallop through a mind-numbing stream of topics and subtopics in an attempt to address a vast range of state standards.

Depth over breadth and the ability to leap across disciplines are exactly what teachers aim for at the Henry Ford Academy, a public charter school in Dearborn, Mich. This fall, 10th-graders in Charles Dershimer's science class began a project that combines concepts from earth science, chemistry, business and design. After reading about Nike's efforts to develop a more environmentally friendly sneaker, students had to choose a consumer product, analyze and explain its environmental impact and then develop a plan for re-engineering it to reduce pollution costs without sacrificing its commercial appeal. Says Dershimer: "It's a challenge for them and for me."



A New Kind of Literacy

The juniors in Bill Stroud's class are riveted by a documentary called *Loose Change* unspooling on a small TV screen at the Baccalaureate School for Global Education, in urban Astoria, N.Y. The film uses 9/11 footage and interviews with building engineers and Twin Towers survivors to make an oddly compelling if paranoid case that interior explosions unrelated to the impact of the airplanes brought down the World Trade Center on that fateful day. Afterward,

the students—an ethnic mix of New Yorkers with their own 9/11 memories—dive into a discussion about the elusive nature of truth.

Raya Harris finds the video more convincing than the official version of the facts. Marisa Reichel objects. "Because of a movie, you are going to change your beliefs?" she demands. "Just because people heard explosions doesn't mean there were explosions. You can say you feel the room spinning, but it isn't." This kind of discussion about what we know and how we know it is typical of a theory of knowledge

class, a required element for an international-baccalaureate diploma. Stroud has posed this question to his class on the blackboard: "If truth is difficult to prove in history, does it follow that all versions are equally acceptable?"

Throughout the year, the class will examine news reports, websites, propaganda, history books, blogs, even pop songs. The goal is to teach kids to be discerning consumers of information and to research, formulate and defend their own views, says Stroud, who is founder and principal of the

four-year-old public school, which is located in a repurposed handbag factory.

Classes like this, which teach key aspects of information literacy, remain rare in public education, but more and more universities and employers say they are needed as the world grows ever more deluged with information of variable quality. Last year, in response to demand from colleges, the Educational Testing Service unveiled a new, computer-based exam designed to measure information-and-communication-technology literacy. A pilot study of the test with 6,200 high school seniors and college freshmen found that only half could correctly judge the objectivity of a website. "Kids tend to go to Google and cut and paste a research report together," says Terry Egan, who led the team that developed the new test. "We kind of assumed this generation was so comfortable with technology that they know how to use it for research and deeper thinking," says Egan. "But if they're not taught these skills, they don't necessarily pick them up."

Learning 2.0

The chairman of Sun Microsystems was up against one of the most vexing challenges of modern life: a third-grade science project. Scott McNealy had spent hours searching the Web for a lively explanation of electricity that his son could understand. "Finally I found a very nice, animated, educational website showing electrons zooming around and tests after each section. We did this for about an hour and a half and had a ball—a great father-son moment of learning. All of a sudden we ran out of runway because it was a site to help welders, and it then got into welding." For McNealy the experience, three years ago, provided one of life's *ahah* moments: "It made me wonder why there isn't a website where I can just go and have anything I want to learn, K to 12, online, browser based and free."

His solution: draw on the Wikipedia model to create a collection of online courses that can be updated, improved, vetted and built upon by innovative teachers, who, he notes, "are always developing new materials and methods of instruction because they aren't happy with what they have." And who better to create such a site than McNealy, whose company has led the way in designing open-source computer software? He quickly raised some money, created a nonprofit and—voilà!—Curriki.org made its debut January 2006, and has been growing fast. Some 450 courses are in the works, and about 3,000 people have joined as mem-



bers. McNealy reports that a teenager in Kuwait has already completed the introductory physics and calculus classes in 18 days.

Curriki, however, isn't meant to replace going to school but to supplement it and offer courses that may not be available locally. It aims to give teachers classroom-tested content materials and assessments that are livelier and more current and multimedia-based than printed textbooks. Ultimately, it could take the Web 2.0 revolution to school, closing that yawning gap between how kids learn at school and how they do everything else. Educators around the country and overseas are already discussing ways to certify Curriki's online course work for credit.

Some states are creating their own online courses. "In the 21st century, the ability to be a lifelong learner will, for many people, be dependent on their ability to access and benefit from online learning," says Michael Flanagan, Michigan's superintendent of public instruction, which is why Michigan's new high school graduation requirements, which roll out next year, include completing at least one course online.

A Dose of Reality

Teachers need not fear that they will be made obsolete. They will, however, feel increasing pressure to bring their methods—along with the curriculum—into line with the way the modern world works. That

means putting a greater emphasis on teaching kids to collaborate and solve problems in small groups and apply what they've learned in the real world. Besides, research shows that kids learn better that way than with the old chalk-and-talk approach.

At suburban Farmington High in Michigan, the engineering-technology department functions like an engineering firm, with teachers as project managers, a Ford Motor Co. engineer as a consultant and students working in teams. The principles of calculus, physics, chemistry and engineering are taught through activities that fill the hallways with a cacophony of nailng, sawing and chattering. The result: the kids learn to apply academic principles to the real world, think strategically and solve problems.

Such lessons also teach students to show respect for others as well as to be punctual, responsible and work well in teams. Those skills were badly missing in recently hired high school graduates, according to a survey of over 400 human-resource professionals conducted by the Partnership for 21st Century Skills. "Kids don't know how to shake your hand at graduation," says Rudolph Crew, superintendent of the Miami-Dade school system. Department, he notes, used to be on the report card. Some of the nation's more forward-thinking schools are bringing it back. It's one part of 21st century education that sleepy old Rip would recognize.

—With reporting by Carolina A. Miranda



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A color photograph showing Anderson Cooper, a CNN news anchor, in the center. He is wearing a dark short-sleeved shirt and has a serious expression. He is surrounded by several men in military uniforms, including camouflage uniforms and berets. In the background, there are trees and what appears to be a destroyed or damaged building. A large white sign is held up behind him, containing promotional text.

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THE POWER OF PHOTOGRAPHY TO TRAP A MOMENT

in time—and with it, a forceful emotion or a wrenching detail—made photojournalism the perfect medium for telling the tale of 2006. The biggest stories of the year, after all, were of people trapped by war, poverty, history. Israelis locked in conflict with Palestinians. Lebanese penned in by Israeli bombs and blockades. Refugees in Darfur languishing miserably in camps. Undocumented immigrants corralled on both sides of the increasingly monitored U.S.-Mexico border.

No one was more trapped than the people caught in the pageant of escalating brutality that was Iraq in 2006. The country's civilians were gripped by endless reprisals between Sunni insurgents and Shi'ite death squads. American troops were caught in the middle, bleeding out an unpopular occupation while their civilian leaders in Washington searched for the keys to an exit. Or victory. Or something in between.

There were also lighter moments to capture, from the remarkable recovery of a horse named Barbaro to the lavish lives of people in the real OC. But no matter what the subject, these great photographs made us more than just spectators of the events of 2006. We became witnesses. Consider the searing image on the next page, which shows not only an Iraqi car that has just exploded but also an Iraqi woman staring at the flames. As viewers, we are placed just behind her right shoulder, watching and mourning along with her as Baghdad burns. —By Nathan Thornburgh



Captions by Anita Hamilton, Unmesh Kher, Barbara Kiviat, Jeninne Lee-St. John, Alice Park and Bill Saporito





BAGHDAD
STILL BURNING

An Iraqi woman watches as a car that has been detonated by a remote-controlled device burns in Baghdad's Sadr City.
Harriet McLeod
Photographer for TIME
by Priscilla Frankel



HOUSE ARREST: As Iraq spiraled toward civil war last spring, the extended family of photographer Farah Nosh stayed indoors for weeks at a time in their



Baghdad home, afraid to venture out. Here, family members gather at a window after a bomb has exploded outside. Photograph by Farah Nosh—Getty





KEEPING THE
FLAME

A group of Marines sits around a makeshift campfire in between patrols in Anah, Iraq, a Sunni town near the Syrian border

Photograph for TIME by
Yuri Kozyrev



SHOT, BUT SAVED

Snipers have become a constant threat to U.S. troops in Iraq. Here, top left, an Iraqi soldier looks back as a sniper hits Lance Corporal Juan Valdez-Castillo of the Marines' 4th Mobile Assault Platoon in Karma, west of Baghdad. Enter Sergeant Jesse Leach, top center, searching for the sniper, until he reaches the injured Marine, top right, and drags him to a safer position, above. Leach then examines Valdez-Castillo's wounds, right, and hoists him onto a medical vehicle. Valdez-Castillo survived.



Photographs by
Joao Silva—New York
Times/Redux

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PORTRAIT: IRAQ

YURI KOZYREV

Having covered Iraq since September 2002, Yuri Kozyrev, 43, has honed his instinct for potential dangers there. He takes care to blend in among the Iraqi people by not shaving and by dressing as they do. And he pays close attention to the mood in each Baghdad neighborhood that he works in. He takes it as a good sign whenever he sees children on the street. "It means nothing will happen. If you can't see the kids, something is wrong," says the Russian photographer, who has also covered events throughout the former Soviet Union, including the 2004 school siege in Beslan in which more than 330 people were killed.

On the occasions when he was embedded with U.S. troops, Kozyrev believes he picked up on shifting attitudes among some Iraqis toward the American presence. "In the Sunni areas, they didn't like us; they didn't want to see us," he recalls. "Now they invite us into their house. We have tea, and they tell us what they know about the bad guys." At the same time, he says, ordinary Iraqis are increasingly wary of the world just outside their door. So are photojournalists. In Baghdad simply getting stuck in the frequent traffic jams can be nerve-racking. "You never know who is in the car next to you," says Kozyrev. "You just know that you're being watched."

HOME INVASION

In Baghdad, above, residents react to a joint U.S.-Iraqi patrol conducting a door-to-door hunt for Shi'ite militiamen

A MOMENT'S PEACE

During a Baghdad search for members of Muqtada al-Sadr's violent Mahdi Army, a U.S. soldier, above right, pauses

STREET CAPTURE

U.S. soldiers question an insurgent, below right, after a gun battle at a Baghdad marketplace. They found a mask and an AK-47 on him

For more photos and
photographer interviews,
[visit *time.com/kozyrev*](http://time.com/kozyrev)





THE HOT SEAT

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, an increasingly influential voice this year, listens as President Bush talks with South Korean President Roh Moo Hyun in September.

Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis



A BRIEF SEASON IN HELL

It started with morning rocket fire from Lebanon into northern Israel, a distraction created so that Hezbollah militants could cross the border to kidnap two Israeli soldiers—bargaining chips for Lebanese being held in Israel.

Israel blamed the government of Lebanon, though Lebanese Prime Minister Fouad Siniora said he'd known nothing of the raid in advance. The U.S. blamed Iran and Syria, longtime backers of Hezbollah—part political party, part social-welfare organization, part militia.

Retaliation was swift and severe, as Israel sent troops into Lebanon for the first time since 2000, the year it ended two decades of occupation. Though civilians endured rockets in both countries, the devastation in Lebanon was by far more terrible. Thirty-four days and more than 1,000 dead later, a cease-fire went into effect. All sides declared themselves winners, though parts of Lebanon were reduced to rubble and Israel still hasn't got its soldiers back.

CASUALTIES OF WARTIME

An injured Lebanese boy seeks comfort from his mother. An Israeli rocket hit their van as they fled through the coastal city of Tyre in southern Lebanon

Photograph by
Ghaith Abdul-Ahad—
Getty





**LANDSCAPE
OF DESPAIR**

On the southern outskirts of Beirut, a lone figure staggers through what remains of a neighborhood, a Hezbollah stronghold, that was devastated by Israeli raids

Photograph for TIME by Thomas Dworzak—Magnum Photos





THE WAR
HITS HOME

Israeli paratrooper Yiftach Shroyer was just 21 years old when he died battling for control of the Hezbollah stronghold of Bint Jbeil in southern Lebanon. Here, his family grieves during his funeral in Haifa.

Photograph for TIME by
Shaul Schwarz—Getty







PORTRAIT: GAZA

ALEXANDRA BOULAT

Even in Gaza, a place that this year suffered through an Israeli invasion and lethal fighting among Palestinian factions, Alexandra Boulat doesn't believe in taking pictures of the dead and dying. "We've seen so much of these pictures," says the French photojournalist, who believes they've lost their power to move or compel. What she prefers to look for are signs of continuing vitality.

Boulat, 44, came to Gaza in January to cover the elections that brought Hamas—which has called for Israel's destruction—to power. Even when fighting broke out this summer, as Israel launched air strikes and border incursions into Gaza in an effort to force the return of an Israeli soldier kidnapped by Hamas militants, Boulat frequently focused her lens on the Palestinians' effort to sustain a semblance of normalcy. "I think it's important to show there is life," she says. "It's pretty unique, this place. It's completely broken and still very alive."

All the same, Boulat remains pessimistic about the likelihood of a resolution soon to the struggle between Israel and the Palestinians. "The intensity hasn't decreased after so many years," she says. "Unlike so many other stories where you have a beginning, a middle and an end, here there is no end."

TUNNEL VISION

At the Erez checkpoint, connecting Israel with the Gaza Strip, above, a Palestinian traveler rests on a concrete barrier

SUFFER THE CHILDREN

Two sisters, above right, are frightened by ceremonial gunfire during the funeral procession of their father, a Fatah militant killed during an Israeli raid

STILL LIFE WITH POVERTY

In the spartan bathroom of a poor family in Gaza, below right, toothbrushes rest alongside a lemon used for rinsing hair

For more photos and photographer interviews, visit time.com/boulat





A CLASH OF CULTURES IN IRAN

Iran's nuclear program and the bellicose grandstanding of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad may have grabbed headlines around the world this year, but within the country the big news was about growing restraints on personal freedom. The

police have been confiscating satellite dishes. Some schools have resegregated the sexes. Women can no longer smoke in cafés or play music in public. Will a generation that grew up under a somewhat looser Islamic rule chafe under the renewed restrictions?

LIPSTICK JIHAD

Maryam Aghaei, in white, stands with her more traditional mother in the older woman's modern kitchen in Tehran. A single mom and painter, Aghaei, 33, teaches high school art and art history, and bends the dress-code rules for her pupils. "Girls today are cleverer than in my generation," she says. "They know what they want, and they demand their rights."

Photograph by Paolo Woods—Anzenberger



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BACK TO THE FRONT LINE ON TERROR

Throughout the year, rising disorder in Afghanistan put into question the durability of the U.S. victory there. More than 100 suicide bombings rocked the country this year, opium production hit an all-time high, and the al-Qaeda-harboring Taliban returned with a vengeance.

As part of his search for solutions, in September George W. Bush met with both Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Afghan President Hamid Karzai, each of whom blames the other for the Taliban's resurgence.



MAN IN THE MIDDLE

At the White House in September, Bush tried to mend fences between Karzai, above left, and Musharraf, right

Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis

FRIEND? FOE?

After he ran from their convoy in southeastern Zabul province, a Taliban stronghold, U.S. soldiers took this man into custody

Photograph for TIME by Robert Nickelsberg—Getty



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TREACHEROUS HILLS: Wounded U.S. soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division wait to be evacuated by helicopter in eastern Afghanistan. Their base



came under frequent rocket attack this year from Taliban forces in the surrounding mountains. Photograph for TIME by Robert Nickelsberg—Getty



REVIVING CONGO'S DEMOCRACY

Although street clashes and claims of cheating threatened to derail the polling, this year the Democratic Republic of Congo held its first free elections since 1960, when it gained independence from Belgium.

The winner: Joseph Kabila, who first took power in 2001 after the assassination of his father Laurent, architect of Mobutu Sese Seko's ouster. Sworn in last week as duly elected President, Kabila said, "The Congo of tomorrow, I see it as a bringer of order to all of Africa."

OUT OF THE DARKNESS

After October's presidential runoff, polling officials in Bunia tallied ballots. Kabila beat Jean-Pierre Bemba, 58% to 42%.

Photograph by
Marcus Bleasdale



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PORTFOLIO: CHAD

KADIR VAN LOHUIZEN

The role of a photojournalist, says Kadir van Lohuizen, is not simply to record crises but to alert the world to them as well. "If you think something is important, you should cover it," says van Lohuizen, 43, who has been photographing international conflicts since 1988. "You should try to get it into the headlines."

That's why the Dutch-born van Lohuizen went to Chad last month for Human Rights Watch, the international monitoring group, to report on the first stages of a growing crisis along that nation's border with Sudan. About 218,000 refugees from Sudan's war-ravaged Darfur region are camped in eastern Chad. At the same time, antigovernment rebels and Arab militias have been on the move in the area. Human Rights Watch estimates that approximately 60 villages within Chad have been attacked in the past month, creating a second wave of refugees in the makeshift encampments. "The nights are very cold now," explains van Lohuizen. "So the kids, especially kids, are in very bad condition."

Van Lohuizen hopes that his pictures bring attention to the misery along the Chad-Sudan border and speed the arrival of aid. "These people have been sitting there already for a couple of weeks and receiving no assistance," he says, "which is shameful."

A WORLD ON THE RUN

Fleeing assaults by Arab militias, above, about 10,000 refugees formed a makeshift camp outside the town of Goz Beida

REMAINS OF THE DAY

Arab militias that raided the village of Djiorio, above right, burned huts and destroyed sheds that held the autumn harvest

THE FINAL TRACES

The charred imprint of a body at a Sudanese army camp on Chad's border, below right, bears witness to a rebel attack that left 300 dead

For more photos and photographer interviews, visit time.com/vanolohuizen





THE LOOKOUT: A Secret Service agent stands watch along the coast of Kiawah Island, S.C., where President George W. Bush made a brief stop for



a Republican National Committee fund raiser 10 days before the midterm elections. Photograph for TIME by Christopher Morris—VII



WOMAN ON THE VERGE

This was the year when the question got serious. Can a former First Lady return to the White House as Madame President? Soon after coasting to re-election in November, New York Senator Hillary Clinton began conferring with Democratic Party leaders to gauge their feelings about a race for the presidency. With a healthy campaign chest—and a husband who's a peerless political adviser—she ended the year as the Democrat to beat in 2008.

WHICH WAY NEXT?

In April, Senator Clinton greeted her likeness at the unveiling of the Smithsonian's official portraits of her and her husband Bill

Photograph for TIME by Christopher Morris—VII

**Night after night, the urge to get up and move
kept me from falling asleep.**

RESTLESS LEGS SYNDROME

Restless Legs Syndrome (RLS) is a recognized medical condition.

One that's shared by nearly 1 in 10 US adults. Most people experience its symptoms in the evening.

Requip helped me make peace with my legs.

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People who suffer from RLS often describe their leg sensations as creepy, crawly, tingling, or tightening. Getting up and moving their legs often temporarily cuts the symptoms, but they always come back. Only a doctor can determine if you have Restless Legs Syndrome.

Requip is the first FDA-approved treatment for RLS. Taken at night, non-habit-forming prescription Requip helps relieve the symptoms of moderate-to-severe primary Restless Legs Syndrome (15 or more episodes monthly). Ask your doctor if Requip is right for you.

Important Safety Information:

Prescription Requip is not for everyone. Requip Tablets may cause you to fall asleep or feel very sleepy during normal activities such as driving, eating, talking, reading, or working when you stand up. Tell your doctor if you experience these problems or if you think you may be taking other medicines that make you sleepy. Ask tell your doctor if you or your family members that you developed any unusual thoughts or behaviors, such as hallucinations, delusions, or妄想 (hallucinations). Side effects include nausea, drowsiness, vomiting, and diarrhea. Most patients were not stabilized enough to stop taking Requip. Requip should be taken once daily, 1-3 hours before bed.¹ See important patient information on the next page.

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For Restless Legs Syndrome (RLS)
Also Known as Ekbom Syndrome

Read this information completely before you start taking REQUIP.
Read the information each time you get more medicine. There may be new information. This leaflet provides a summary about REQUIP. It does not include everything there is to know about your medicine. This information should not take the place of discussions with your doctor about your medical condition or REQUIP.

What is REQUIP?

REQUIP is a prescription medicine to treat moderate-to-severe primary Restless Legs Syndrome. It is sometimes used to treat Parkinson's disease. Having one of these conditions does not mean you have or will develop the other.

What is the most important information I should know about REQUIP?

- Patients with RLS should take REQUIP differently than patients with Parkinson's disease (see **How should I take REQUIP for RLS?** for the recommended dosing for RLS). A lower dose of REQUIP is generally needed for patients with RLS, and is taken once daily before bedtime.
- There are known side effects of REQUIP. If you fall asleep or feel very sleepy while doing normal activities such as driving, faint, feel dizzy, nauseated, or sweaty when you stand up from sitting or lying down, you should talk with your doctor (see **What are the possible side effects of REQUIP?**).
- Before starting REQUIP, be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking any medicines that make you drowsy.

Who should not take REQUIP?

You should not take REQUIP if you are allergic to the active ingredient ropinirole or to any of the inactive ingredients. Your doctor and pharmacist have a list of the inactive ingredients.

What should I tell my doctor?

Be sure to tell your doctor if:

- you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- you are breast-feeding.
- you have daytime sleepiness from a sleep disorder other than RLS or have unexpected sleepiness or periods of sleep while taking REQUIP.
- you are taking any other prescription or over-the-counter medicines. Some of these medicines may increase your chances of getting side effects while taking REQUIP.
- you start or stop taking other medicines while you are taking REQUIP. This may increase your chances of getting side effects.
- you start or stop smoking while you are taking REQUIP. Smoking may decrease the treatment effect of REQUIP.
- you feel dizzy, nauseated, sweaty, or faint when you stand up from sitting or lying down.
- you drink alcoholic beverages. This may increase your chances of becoming drowsy or sleepy while taking REQUIP.

How should I take REQUIP for RLS?

- Be sure to take REQUIP exactly as directed by your doctor or healthcare provider.
- The usual way to take REQUIP is once in the evening, 1 to 3 hours before bedtime.
- Your doctor will start you on a low dose of REQUIP. Your doctor may change the dose until you are taking the amount of medicine that is right for you to control your symptoms.
- You may receive a starting kit with doses marked by day. The pills in this kit slowly increase your daily dose over time so that you and your doctor may determine what the best dose is for you. Different people respond differently to this medicine. You may not need the highest dose pill in this kit or you may need an even higher dose to relieve your symptoms. You should carefully follow your doctor's advice on the use of this kit.
- **If you miss your dose, do not double your next dose.** Take only your usual dose 1 to 3 hours before your next bedtime.

- Contact your doctor, if you stop taking REQUIP for any reason. Do not restart without consulting your doctor.
- You can take REQUIP with or without food. Taking REQUIP with food may decrease the chances of feeling nauseated.

What are the possible side effects of REQUIP?

- Most people who take REQUIP tolerate it well. The most commonly reported side effects in people taking REQUIP for RLS are nausea, vomiting, dizziness, and drowsiness or sleepiness. You should be careful until you know if REQUIP affects your ability to remain alert while doing normal daily activities, and you should watch for the development of significant daytime sleepiness or episodes of falling asleep. It is possible that you could fall asleep while doing normal activities such as driving a car, doing physical tasks, or using hazardous machinery while taking REQUIP. Your chances of falling asleep while doing normal activities while taking REQUIP are greater if you are taking other medicines that cause drowsiness.
- When you start taking REQUIP or when you increase your dose, you may feel dizzy, nauseated, sweaty or faint, when first standing up from sitting or lying down. Therefore, do not stand up quickly after sitting or lying down, particularly if you have been sitting or lying down for a long period of time. Take a minute sitting on the edge of the bed or chair before you get up.
- Some patients taking ropinirole have shown urges to behave in a way unusual for them. Examples of this are an unusual urge to gamble or increased sexual urges and/or behaviors. If you or your family notices that you are developing any unusual behaviors, talk to your doctor.
- Hallucinations (unreal sounds, visions, or sensations) have been reported in patients taking REQUIP. These were uncommon in patients taking REQUIP for RLS. The risk is greater in patients with Parkinson's disease who are elderly, taking REQUIP with L-dopa, or taking higher doses of REQUIP than recommended for RLS.

This is not a complete list of side effects and should not take the place of discussions with your healthcare providers. Your doctor or pharmacist can give you a more complete list of possible side effects. Talk to your doctor about any side effects or problems you may have.

Other information about REQUIP

- Studies of people with Parkinson's disease show that they may be at an increased risk of developing melanoma, a form of skin cancer, when compared to people without Parkinson's disease. It is not known if this problem is associated with Parkinson's disease or the medicines used to treat Parkinson's disease. REQUIP is one of the medicines used to treat Parkinson's disease, therefore, patients being treated with REQUIP should have periodic skin examinations.
- Take REQUIP exactly as your doctor prescribes it.
- Do not share REQUIP with other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have.
- Keep REQUIP out of the reach of children.
- Store REQUIP at room temperature out of direct sunlight.
- Keep REQUIP in a tightly closed container.

This leaflet summarizes important information about REQUIP. Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in this leaflet. Do not take REQUIP for a condition for which it was not prescribed. For more information, talk with your doctor or pharmacist. They can give you information about REQUIP that is written for healthcare professionals.



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SEE, WE'RE FRIENDS!

Senators Obama, left, and McCain publicly put behind them their spat on overhauling lobbying rules—McCain had accused Obama of “partisan posturing”—just before a February congressional hearing on the very topic.

Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis

THE FIELD STARTS TO FILL FOR '08

After a brief dustup last winter, Senators John McCain and Barack Obama largely stayed out of each other's hair. McCain, the Senator from Arizona often described as a maverick, spent much of the year playing to the G.O.P. base with an eye to '08. Meanwhile, Illinois' freshman Obama mostly lay low—until his fall book tour. Suddenly, everyone was talking about his chances for the White House, which sent other Democrats scrambling to toss their hats in the ring. Game on!



**SWEET HOME,
NEW ORLEANS**

Though many problems remained, Mardi Gras brought life back to the city this year at places like Mickey's Next Stop Lounge in the Sixth Ward.

Photograph for TIME by
Anthony Suau





PORTRAIT: THE BORDER

ANTHONY SUAU

By some estimates, as many as 850,000 illegal aliens enter the U.S. each year. Photographer Anthony Suau, who grew up in Peoria, Ill., and now lives in Europe, returned to the U.S. in October to spend a week documenting the impact of this influx on both sides of a stretch of the Arizona border with Mexico. "The thing about the border is that it's not one story," says Suau, 50, who has covered everything from famine in Ethiopia to war in Chechnya. "There's so many levels—homeland security, illegal immigration, what's happening economically on both sides."

Saua says he was surprised by the sheer scope of the problem along the border, where, he says, entire ranches on the U.S. side have been abandoned by owners who can no longer cope with the influx. He was struck too by the determination of the immigrants, like the ones in his shot of a couple scrambling over a high border fence. "They were entirely concentrated on getting over the wall," he says. "The force pulling them over was extremely powerful." Now the U.S. plans to construct a 700-mile fence along the border. But can any physical barrier thwart people driven by poverty to risk everything to enter the U.S.? In the hope of answering that question, Suau intends to return to the border repeatedly over the next year.

INTO THE PROMISED LAND

At a heavily trafficked stretch of border near Douglas, Ariz., above, a young couple vaults the fence at dawn

LAYING DOWN THE LINE

A new stretch of fence, above right, under construction near San Luis, Ariz., is being sunk deep enough to discourage smugglers from tunneling beneath it

THE WAITING GAME

An officer, below right, watches detainees at a Nogales, Ariz., holding center for illegal immigrants waiting to be deported

For more photos and photographer interviews, visit time.com/saua



THE HORSE THAT WOULD NOT QUIT

There hasn't been a winner of racing's Triple Crown since 1978, but this year an undefeated Thoroughbred named Barbaro looked to have a good shot to do it. After finishing first in the Kentucky Derby by 6½ lengths, the largest margin of victory in 60 years, he was the odds-on favorite to take the Preakness Stakes in Baltimore, Md., on May 20.

In the opening yards of that race, Barbaro took a bad step that shattered his right rear leg. After 4½ hours of surgery, during which doctors inserted 27 screws and a 15-in. plate, the 3-year-old colt was given a 50% chance of survival.

His recovery since has been steady, except for a severe case of laminitis in his left hind hoof. His broken leg continues to heal; the cast came off in early November. To the legions of people who sent flowers, fruit baskets and get-well-soon cards, Barbaro's comeback is proof of the tenacity of living things. He will never race again—but don't be surprised if he still proves valuable as a stud.



Just after the start of the Preakness, with jockey Edgar Prado at the reins, Barbaro, above, second from left, can be seen galloping with his right rear leg broken and jutting to the side

Chris Gardiner—AP

At the University of Pennsylvania's George D. Widener Hospital for Large Animals, left, Barbaro is moved from a postsurgical pool meant to keep the horse from reinjuring himself

Sabina Louise Pierce—
University of
Pennsylvania/AP

Choose



cash.

ZIZOU BUTTS IN ON THE WORLD CUP

Like many of the moves in his astonishing career, Zinédine Zidane's head butt of Italian defender Marco Materazzi in the World Cup final in July showed the Frenchman's sheer uniqueness. Ordinary soccer brutes head-butted to break an opponent's nose. Zidane turned his *coup de boule* into an art form—pivoting swiftly, driving his bald dome into the gasping Italian's chest and leveling him. With the game tied, 1-1, in overtime, Zidane, who had already scored, was tossed from the match. With the invaluable Zidane gone from the field, Italy won in a penalty-kick shootout.

"Zizou," the son of Algerian immigrants, whose command of the ball had brought France the World Cup in 1998, was initially unwilling to disclose what had set him off. It was later revealed that the Italian had insulted Zidane's sister. "The guilty party," Zidane insisted, "is the one who provokes."

For Italy, the victory was sweet in the wake of a corruption scandal that had rocked its pro league. For Zizou, 34, playing his last match before retirement, it was the final act of a brilliant if impetuous footballer. Despite the expulsion, he was awarded the Golden Ball for best player in the Cup. He is still a hero in France.



Marco Materazzi is finally rendered speechless as Zinédine Zidane grounds him with a head butt during the World Cup final

Photograph by John MacDougall—AFP/Getty

My kick was intended to be a strong punch. The Italian's move and the guilty party is the one who provokes.

—ZINÉDINE ZIDANE



Choose points.





VIVE LE TOUR DE FRANCE?

The retirement of Lance Armstrong after his seventh Tour victory last year left the field wide open for new claimants to his cycling crown, especially after a steroid scandal forced Tour officials to bar several pre-race favorites from competing. When Armstrong's old wingman, Floyd Landis, came from behind to win this year's, the U.S. thought it had found a new hero. But soon after, suspicious results from Landis' drug tests cast doubt on his achievement—and on whether there can be cycling without doping.



BIKES AND A BAGUETTE

With her kitchen window providing a front-row view, above, a woman takes in the fifth stage of the Tour, which extended from Beauvais to Caen

Photograph by Eric Gaillard—Reuters

WINNER, FOR A WHILE

Landis, during his victory lap in Paris on July 23. Two weeks later it was revealed that he had failed drug tests, and his title was in jeopardy

Photograph by Pascal Guyot—AFP/Getty



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BRIGHT YOUNG
THINGS

Teens take a party bus to the senior prom of California's Newport Harbor High—the school that inspired the Fox TV show *The OC*

Photograph by
Laurey Greenfield—VII







A CHANGE IS GONNA COME

For decades Fidel Castro has been a thorn in the side of U.S. Presidents. But after the announcement this summer that the ailing dictator would cede much of his power, Cuba is being governed by someone else for the first time since 1959. That someone is Fidel's younger brother Raúl, known as the "practical Castro." If Fidel should die, Raúl is expected to bring a measure of reform to Cuba. But he's also known as the more ideologically hard-line of the pair. Exiles, don't buy your tickets home yet.

DANCING IN THE STREETS

In August, Cuban exiles in Miami's Little Havana rejoiced at news that Fidel Castro, 80, was seriously ill

Photograph by Andrew Kaufman



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The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Important Information: ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for controlling symptoms and preventing wheezing in adults with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR twice a day. Taking higher doses will not provide additional benefits but may increase your chance of certain side effects. Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with ADVAIR. Patients at risk for developing bone loss (osteoporosis) and some eye problems (cataracts or glaucoma) should be aware that use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR, may increase your risk. You should consider having regular eye exams. ADVAIR does not replace fast-acting inhalers for acute symptoms.

*Measured by a breathing test in people taking ADVAIR 250/50, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 250 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg. Your results may vary.



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ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50
(fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

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ADVAIR DISKUS[®] 100/50, 250/50, 500/50 (Fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist medicines such as salmeterol one of the medications in ADVAR[®] may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAR.

ADVAR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

What is ADVAR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAR. Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta₂-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAR 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

For Asthma

- ADVAR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The very anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Who should not take ADVAR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation; although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAR, stop using ADVAR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: choking, breathing problems, swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue, rash, hives, itching, or welts on the skin.

Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler 2 or 3 more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately so they can change your use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAR. You should be very careful as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis and eosinophilic conditions. Symptoms of an eosinophilic condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Tell your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause arrhythmias such as heart palpitations, rapid heart rate, tremors, or nervousness.
- If you have heartburn, overactive thyroid, or liver problems, or are sensitive to aspirin, tell your doctor before requesting treatment for breathing problems. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles, or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

How should I take ADVAR DISKUS?

ADVAR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

When using ADVAR, remember:

- Never breathe into the or DISKUS[®] apart
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel it does not receive a dose
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil overwrap
- Do not use ADVAR with a spacer device

Children should use ADVAR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

Can I take ADVAR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAR, you should not take SERENEV[®] DISKUS or Foradil[®] Aerolizer[®] for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir[®] Soft Gelsatin Capsules, Norvir[®] Oral Solution, and Kaletra[®] contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAR was taken with varying amounts of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketotifen (an antihistamine) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAR especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together. In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAR was taken with methyldantines (e.g., phenytoin) or with FLONASE[®].

What are other important safety considerations with ADVAR DISKUS?

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for experiencing bone loss (tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

Glaucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAR.

Lower respiratory tract infection: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAR.

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAR.

Growth: Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

Steroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of stress like your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids); especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by your doctor.

Tuberculosis or other unrelated infections: ADVAR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other unrelated infections.

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAR DISKUS?

ADVAR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAR included:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections | • Bronchitis | • Musculoskeletal pain |
| • Throat irritation | • Cough | • Dizziness |
| • Hoarseness | • Headaches | • Fever |
| • Sinus infection | • Nausea and vomiting | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth | • Diarrhea | • Nosebleed |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Tell your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

What other important tests were conducted with ADVAR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAR compared with the components administered separately in animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans; salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professionals can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

For more information on ADVAR DISKUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADVARDISKUS.com or call 1-888-625-5249. Patients receiving ADVAR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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FIRE FROM THE EARTH'S BELLY

Mount Merapi, on the Indonesian island of Java, is one of the world's most active volcanoes. Lava flows this summer led to mass evacuations. That and a deadly earthquake raised talk that a bigger eruption is yet to come

Photograph by Supri—Reuters

JAVA'S GIANT JOLT

This year Indonesians planned to commemorate a huge eruption of Mount Merapi in A.D. 1006 that blanketed central Java with ash and led to the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Mataram.

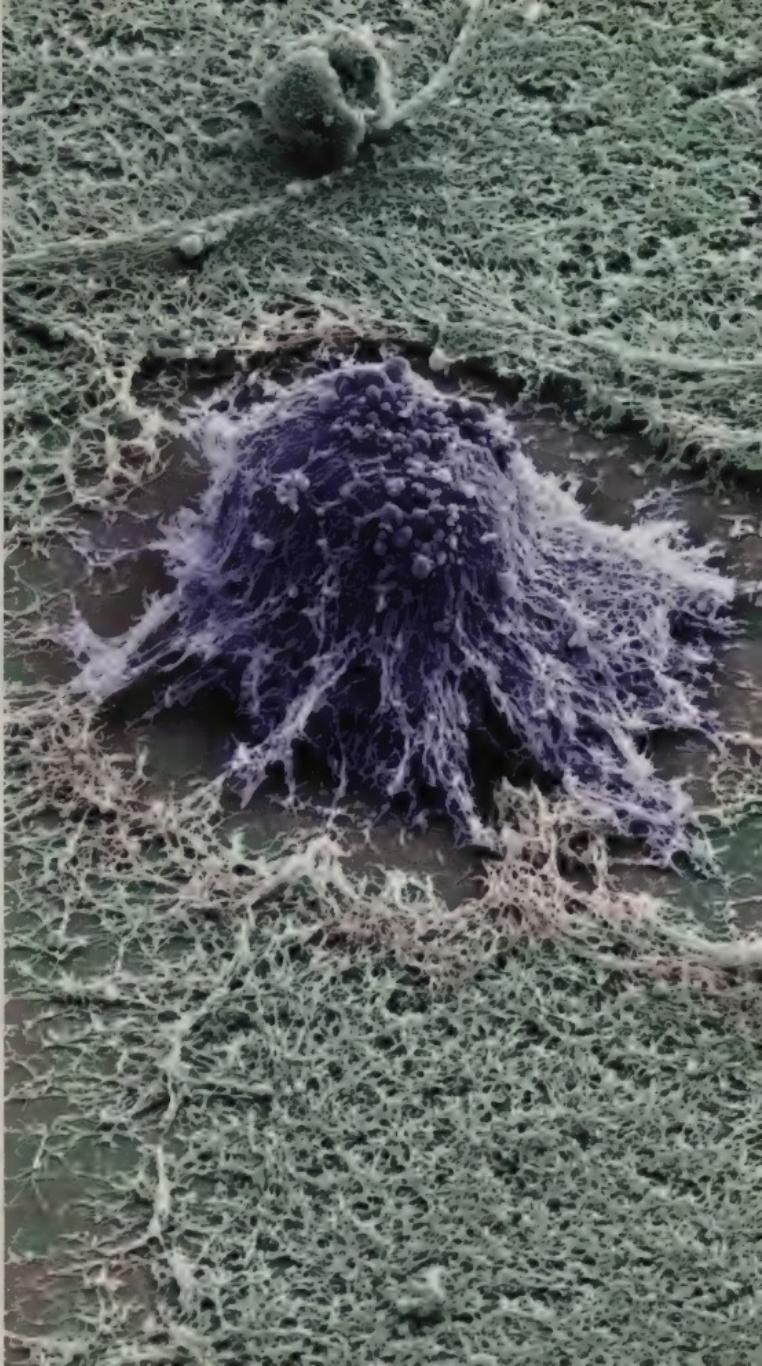
But festivities were canceled when in June the volcano erupted again after a nearby tremor killed about 6,000 people. With the dome continuing to bubble, the locals—now mostly Muslims—have been making offerings of rice in the hope of deliverance.

STEM- CELL CULTURE

Stem cells may be too tiny to see with the naked eye, but these microscopic master cells were far from invisible in 2006. In TV ads, Parkinson's patient Michael J. Fox urged voters to support embryonic-stem-cell research to develop new treatments for diseases such as Parkinson's. And in Washington, President Bush issued his first veto to stop a bill that would have allowed federal dollars to fund studies using excess embryos created through *in vitro* fertilization.

Embryonic stem cells, which can generate all the tissues in the human body, are at their most useful in the first few days after an embryo is formed. But extracting them at that point requires destroying the embryo, an act that Bush believes "crosses a moral boundary."

A solution, however, may be on the horizon. Researchers in Boston believe they have found a way this year to generate stem cells without destroying the embryo, while a group in Japan was able to create stem cells without the need of an embryo at all.



TEMPEST ON A PINHEAD

Human embryonic stem cells (purple) in culture after removal from a 4-to-5-day-old embryo

Photograph by Andrew Paul Leonard and John Yorston—Carl Zeiss SMT





THE GOOD ORGANIC LIFE

This was the year natural food went mainstream in a big way. As Americans look more skeptically on pesticides and hormones, the \$15 billion organic-food business is growing 20% a year. The clearest sign of its mass acceptance came in March when Wal-Mart greatly expanded its role in the market, announcing it would double its organic-food offerings.

NATURALISTS

Shane and Katey Warren at their family's organic Stone and Thistle Farm in East Meredith, N.Y. The Warrens raise chickens, turkeys, goats, cows, sheep and pigs

Photograph by
Rachel Watson

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Now you have a choice. We began researching noise reduction technology 28 years ago. Since then, we've been leading the industry in advancing the category we created.

New QuietComfort® 3 headphones represent the latest achievement. They rest on your ears rather than surrounding them. And while



QC2 headphones (left)
New QC3 headphones (right)

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Hear the difference Bose® technology makes. You will notice a dramatic decrease in engine roar on a plane. The cabin becomes more peaceful. Connect your CD player,

MP3 player, or listen to the in-flight movie. You'll hear detail you may have never experienced while flying.

But use them at home or at the office, too. Although the noise reduction will be more subtle, you should notice distractions fading softly into the background.

To order or learn more about Bose headphones:

1-800-901-0256, ext. Q5302
www.Bose.com/qc3



Try them for 30 days at no risk. Choose new QC3 headphones for an on-ear fit, or QC2 headphones for an around-ear design. Both come with our 30-day Excitement Guarantee. Order now for a free MP3 player (a \$50 value) featuring music selected by Bose. Easily add/remove songs, and use it to enjoy your QuietComfort headphones even more. Take advantage of **12 easy payments**, with no interest charges from Bose.* And ask about our optional Cell Connect cable for use with select music-enabled mobile phones. QuietComfort headphones.

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IN YOUR EYES



In October, TIME.com invited readers to submit photos for inclusion in this special issue. Then our editors selected the top three submissions, shown at left, on the basis of the aesthetics of the image as well as its ability to convey a sense of our changing world. To see more reader photos, visit time.com/yourshots.



BOYS IN THE HOOD

In the months leading up to the World Cup games in Germany, two youngsters play soccer on the grounds of the Labrang Monastery, a Tibetan Buddhist temple complex in Xiahe, China

Photograph by
Samer Muscati

CULTURE CLASH

An Orthodox Jew passes two Arab cleaning men in Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market—a popular place to buy produce and the site of several suicide bombings over the past decade

Photograph by
Aryeh E. Shimron

FAMILY REUNION

In March, after returning from a six-month tour in the Persian Gulf aboard the U.S.S. Roosevelt, Seaman Todd Lehman gives his father Russel a hug in Virginia Beach, Va. Todd's mother took the picture

Photograph by
Linda Lehman



Holiday cheer by the truckload.



Element



Ridgeline



Pilot



CR-V

Here's something to be joyful about. During Happy Honda Days, you can get a great deal on that Honda truck you've been wishing for. Including the innovative Ridgeline, the eight-passenger Pilot and the new Element SC. And while you're at it, don't forget to check out the all-new CR-V. See your Honda dealer today and make this holiday season the jolliest ever.

Happy Honda Days



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A Condo on The Moon...

The manned space program heats up as NASA unveils its plans for a lunar base and finds signs of flowing water on Mars

By JEFFREY KLUGER

THIS GETTING HARD TO FIND MANY AMERICANS who remember where they were the last time men set foot on the moon. Not only had most of us quit paying attention to lunar landings by then, but 48% of us hadn't even been born by December 1972, when the last moon walkers left the lunar surface and headed for home.

But the U.S. may be bound for deep space again. In a rare double hit of good-news headlines last week, NASA announced first that it has firmed up its plans for America's return to the moon and then, two days later, that it had discovered signs that wa-

ter had flowed on the surface of Mars within the past seven years. Where there is water, of course, there could be life.

For space watchers, these are game changers. In the three years since President George W. Bush announced his plan to send Americans back to the moon and on to Mars, questions have persisted about whether NASA has the institutional wherewithal to pull off so grand a plan and whether there's enough scientific rationale to even try. But now there's reason for optimism on both fronts.

The first encouraging sign that NASA means business is the sensible hardware it's envisioning for the lunar portion of the moon-Mars program. The new vehicles are based on proven—if souped-up—Apollo technology, with an orbiter that looks a lot like the old Apollo command module and a lander that resembles the familiar spindly lunar module. The new lander could carry three or more crew members down to the surface and drive them around the lunar landscape, doubling as a sort of extraterrestrial pickup truck. Crews would live for up to 180 days at a time in trailer-like pressurized modules similar to those used aboard the International Space Station. "We're looking at something that can grow without a lot of redesign," says Doug Cooke, leader of the NASA study group that developed the plan.

The site for the moon settlement is uncertain, but the best candidate is near



MAKING TRACKS

In the image above right, taken in 2006, there is a white trail that wasn't present in 1999, left. Water is the likely source; it can leave behind salts and other reflective particles as it dries

THE MOON

Shackleton Crater at the south lunar pole. Parts of the region are bathed in sunlight more than 70% of the time, just the thing for the outpost's solar panels. What's more, ridges and hills cast patches of ground in equally deep shadow, meaning a possible supply of ice that could be used for drinking water and hydrogen and oxygen fuel.

Astronauts who set up camp at the site would have a lot to keep them busy. NASA is exploring 180 areas of scientific research and other projects for its moon crews, from the lofty (solar physics) to the frankly commercial (installing lunar robots that could



YOU ARE HERE

Shackleton Crater at the south lunar pole is a prime spot for NASA's outpost. Plentiful sun would boost solar power, and deposits of ice could provide water

HOMESTEAD
Trailer-like habitats could provide astronauts with a place to bed down. The lunar lander could double as a moon car

be driven remotely from Earth by paying customers to help defray costs.)

So what's not to like? For starters, the timeline. Earth-orbit tests of the vehicles would not take place until 2014; the first landing is planned for 2020, with the outpost to follow in 2024. That's a lot of Congresses and presidential administrations that would need to stay focused. Then there's the money. NASA's annual budget is a relatively modest \$17 billion, and the new plans are based

on the assumption that the figure will not rise appreciably. Things should get easier in 2010, when the aging shuttles are mothballed, freeing up perhaps \$6 billion annually. But NASA's history of cost overruns is no better than the rest of the government's—which is to say lousy.

Still, space officials insist they're wise to their own worst tendencies. "We will go as we can afford to pay," says deputy administrator Shana Dale. "Our charge is to build a program that is sustainable." One indication that NASA takes this seriously is that the equipment being developed for lunar exploration is intended to be adaptable to Mars exploration as well, eliminating the cost of entirely retooling when there's a shift to a more distant, less hospitable destination.

The allure of that second destination got a big boost with last week's discovery of fresh signs of water on Mars. It was made by the Mars Global Surveyor, a spacecraft that has been in Martian orbit since 1997 and finally winked out only last month. Before it did, it produced exhaustive photographic maps of the planet, including shots of tens of thousands of dry gullies that were almost certainly carved by water. Most of those channels haven't changed over time, but at two of the sites investigators found what appear to be the tracks of flows that occurred within just the past seven years. "It would be about five to 10 swimming pools' worth of water at both sites," said Ken Edgett, a senior scientist for the Surveyor project and a co-author of the new report.

If water was indeed the cause of the tracks, the likeliest source would be aquifers just below the surface. But while this conjures images of warm, amniotic pools cooking up all manner of biology, Michael Malin, chief scientist of the study, urges caution. Acids mixing with water can lower its freezing temperature to nearly -150°F. That's a cold, caustic brew for any living thing that tries to take hold. "Water on Mars does not prove biology," Malin says, "but it may permit it."

Even that makes Mars a far more fertile place than it once seemed, and for many space scientists, that's a good enough reason to go. Lack of funding or political will may yet scuttle the entire audacious moon-Mars enterprise. But for now at least, it appears that a human species that has kept itself confined to the home planet for the past 34 years may once again begin moving stepwise through the solar system. ■

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James C. Dobson

Two Mommies Is One Too Many

Mary Cheney is starting a family. Let's hope she doesn't start a trend

ANUMBER OF SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES, MYSELF INCLUDED, have recently been asked to respond to the news that Mary Cheney, the Vice President's daughter, is pregnant with a child she intends to raise with her lesbian partner. Implicit in this issue is an effort to get us to criticize the Bush Administration or the Cheney family. But the concern here has nothing to do with politics. It is about what kind of family environment is best for the health and development of children, and, by extension, the nation at large.

With all due respect to Cheney and her partner, Heather Poe, the majority of more than 30 years of social-science evidence indicates that children do best on every measure of well-being when raised by their married mother and father. That is not to say Cheney and Poe will not love their child. But love alone is not enough to guarantee healthy growth and development. The two most loving women in the world cannot provide a daddy for a little boy—any more than the two most loving men can be complete role models for a little girl.

The voices that argue otherwise tell us more about our politically correct culture than they do about what children really need. The fact remains that gender matters—perhaps nowhere more than in regard to child rearing. The unique value of fathers has been explained by Dr. Kyle Pruett of Yale Medical School in his book *Fatherneed: Why Father Care Is as Essential as Mother Care for Your Child*. Pruett says dads are critically important simply because "fathers do not mother." *Psychology Today* explained in 1996 that "fatherhood turns out to be a complex and unique phenomenon with huge consequences for the emotional and intellectual growth of children." A father, as a male parent, makes unique contributions to the task of parenting that a mother cannot emulate, and vice versa.

According to educational psychologist Carol Gilligan, mothers tend to stress sympathy, grace and care to their children, while fathers accent justice, fairness and duty. Moms give a child a sense of hopefulness; dads provide a sense of right and wrong and its consequences. Other researchers

have determined that boys are not born with an understanding of "maleness." They have to learn it, ideally from their fathers.

But set aside the scientific findings for a minute. Isn't there something in our hearts that tells us, intuitively, that children need a mother and a father? Admittedly, that ideal is not always possible. Divorce, death, abandonment and unwed pregnancy have resulted in an ever growing number of single-parent families in this culture. We admire the millions of men and women who have risen to the challenge of parenting alone and are meeting their difficult responsibilities with

courage and determination. Still, most of them, if asked, would say that raising children is a two-person job best accomplished by a mother and father.

In raising these issues, Focus on the Family does not desire to harm or insult women such as Cheney and Poe. Rather, our conviction is that birth and adoption are the purview of married heterosexual couples. Traditional marriage is God's design for the family and is rooted in biblical truth. When that divine plan is im-

plemented, children have the best opportunity to thrive. That's why public policy as it relates to families must be based not solely on the desires of adults but rather on the needs of children and what is best for society at large.

This is a lesson we should have learned from no-fault divorce. Because adults wanted to dissolve difficult marriages with fewer strings attached, reformers made it easier in the late 1960s to dissolve nuclear families. Though there are exceptions, the legacy of no-fault divorce is countless shattered lives within three generations, adversely affecting children's behavior, academic performance and mental and physical health. No-fault divorce reflected our selfish determination to do what was convenient for adults, and it has been, on balance, a disaster.

We should not enter into yet another untested and far-reaching social experiment, this one driven by the desires of same-sex couples to bear and raise children. The traditional family, supported by more than 5,000 years of human experience, is still the foundation on which the well-being of future generations depends.



PARENTS TO BE

The Veep's daughter, left, and her partner at the 2004 Republican Convention

Dobson is the founder and chairman of Focus on the Family

THE BIG GULP AT STARBUCKS

By BARBARA KIVIAT SEATTLE

STARBUCKS FANCIES ITSELF A SMALL COMPANY, WHICH MIGHT RING A LITTLE ODD, considering that the coffee giant is regularly parodied as being practically unavoidable. Well, the joke is only going to get funnier as the Seattle firm, with its shareholders clearly in mind, gets even bigger, selling more stuff, from hot food to hot music, in more places than ever before. Right now Big Green runs 12,440 locations worldwide, but the goal is 40,000, which would trump even McDonald's.

But McDonald's doesn't try to behave like a chain of boutiques, and



that's where the tension inside Starbucks lies. "The battle within the company is making sure growth doesn't dilute our culture," says founder and chairman Howard Schultz. In the Starbucks ethos, the best authority is decentralized, and the best decisions are made store by store. The company stays clear of focus groups, acts on its instincts and doesn't open franchises for fear of losing control. Schultz decided to sell the *New York Times*, not *USA Today*, in stores because, he says, "it felt right." If he or another senior exec doesn't like a new drink concoction, it doesn't get sold. How's that for research?

In other large corporations, "We act like a small company" is one of the great empty slogans, but at Starbucks, executives tenaciously hold on to the idea that every store is like an independent coffeehouse. "You see the banter, the customers knowing the people behind the counter," says CEO Jim Donald. "It's part of the reason they go." But Schultz and Donald are aware that it will be





COFFEE TIME REINVENTED

Starbucks is revamping its products and stores, adding hot sandwiches, top right, and dressed-up drive-throughs, center left, both shown at a Seattle outlet. In a new-format store in Thornton, Colo., all others, racks of items for sale are meant to evoke the feel of a "coffee merchandiser," says manager Levi Smith, bottom right, having a cup of coffee.



hard to keep the intimacy thing going. As Starbucks branches into more products (22 new drinks in two years, its own section of iTunes), spreads to more countries (from China to Brazil) and sees sales increase 22% a year, to nearly \$8 billion annually, life is getting a lot more complex. And complexity is dangerous for any company.

You can see the resulting tension all over the place, even in your latte. Six years ago, Starbucks moved from manual to semi-automatic espresso machines. The quality was more consistent, but the real reason for the switch was that an employee needed 24 fewer seconds to draw an espresso—a double shot of productivity. "People struggled with it," says Silvia Peterson, director of store operations engineering. The new machine was at odds with the Starbuckian notion of a "handcrafted" beverage. An ice dispenser that would have eliminated time spent scooping was rejected as a step too far. "It was big and qsr-like," says Peterson—QSR being an abbreviation for *quick-serve restaurant*, as in fast food, anathema to Starbucks. "It was a lot of stainless steel."

Now the company is back to thinking about dispensing machines as it works through its biggest general operational problem: the length of time it takes to serve a customer. Starbucks aims to serve your drink in three minutes or less—any longer and people might bolt. Less than 60% of stores manage to hit that mark on average, which means that the company is missing millions in sales.

One solution might be an automated syrup dispenser, which for now sits in the Starbucks R&D lab but could speed up, among other things, the production of blender-made Frappuccinos. That goal was given fresh urgency in July when same-store sales for the month rose 4%, the slowest pace in nearly five years. The reason, said management: hot weather increased demand for cold drinks, and stores couldn't keep up. Customers saw long lines and kept on walking. It was a rare financial miss, and Starbucks' stock dropped 9% on the news (it's still up more than 20% for the year)—highlighting that in the debate between handcrafted and automated, what investors care most about is results.

For Starbucks management, the decision is more difficult. "As much as we want to meet people's desire to produce beverages quickly, we also realize that people want a smile with their drink, that they don't want to feel rushed," says Jim Alling, president of Starbucks Coffee U.S.

Striking a balance between efficiency and atmosphere is largely why it took 3½ years to roll out ovens, the biggest thing to

hit Starbucks since the blender's 1995 debut. Starbucks knew there was demand—witness the bags of food carried in—but creating a good-looking oven that could cool a range of items and contain the odor—lest a store not smell first and foremost of coffee—was a challenge. Even after some breakfast sandwiches were developed, entirely new deployment routines had to be created so that employees would not slow the line. "If our espresso-only or drip-only customers suffered," says Alling, "it wouldn't be worth doing."

Hot breakfast sandwiches are a success in the handful of big cities they have reached so far, like Chicago and New York, where they add an average of \$35,000 a year to the sales of each store—more than the \$30,000 that comes from cold sandwiches and salads. Hot lunch sandwiches and quiche, now being tested, might someday draw a midday crowd—a real prospect for a company that currently sees 60% of its sales before 10 a.m. And while executives won't admit it, ovens also hedge against competitors like Dunkin' Donuts, McDonald's and Burger King, which have been stepping up the quality and variety of their coffees.

There's only so much stuff you can run through a 1,500-sq.-ft. retail store, although Starbucks has added everything from CDs to books to Scrabble sets. "You have to have new products. That's the retailer's dilemma," says John Glass, who covers Starbucks for CIBC World Markets. But every new item, whether edible or readable, increases the complexity of the organization, and complexity is a killer.

Mark Gottfredson, a partner at consultancy Bain & Co., studied that subject at 75 companies in 12 industries and found that as firms became more complicated, growth slowed. Companies lowest in complexity grew 1.7 times as fast as their average competitor, even when taking firm size into account. "Complexity creep is the most natural thing in the world, especially in retail," says Gottfredson. "The challenge is that while every one of those decisions seems to make sense, underneath you start building up enormous amounts of systemic cost."

Historically, Starbucks has done a great job at balancing new ideas with efficiency, says Frances Frei, a professor at Harvard business school who has studied the company. A classic example: the way it trains us to order in Starbucks jargon, *grande* this and half-caff that. Serving tens of thousands of possible drink combinations would be an operational nightmare were it not for a regimented logic to ordering, a marketing flourish that helps establish the atmosphere



BEAN COUNTER:
Founder Schultz
wants Starbucks to
stay small in spirit

of an Italian café. "The fight in any company is [that] marketing wants more things for the customer and operations wants less," says Frei. "The thing that is so beautiful with coffee is that they did both."

But what happens when Starbucks introduces drive-throughs, which are at 58% of the stores it builds today? It took a decade for the company to put in its first drive-through because, says Schultz, "we wanted to ensure that once we did, we didn't take Starbucks down this road of fast-food mentality." Again the dreaded FF words. Next year Starbucks will open some 600 drive-throughs, many on busy highways—a huge departure from the store's original Main Street philosophy. Here's why: drive-throughs significantly boost a store's total sales.

How the homey in-store experience translates to a drive-through is another question. Executives try to explain, but the disconnect is so obvious that the Starbucks

drive-through is lately being reinvented. Some changes boost efficiency (an order-confirmation screen reduces errors), but plenty of the redesign is aesthetic. Neatly landscaped hedges and big drawings of coffee pots funnel you through a chute that takes you round to the pickup window, which is broad and deep and designed to visually draw you into the store.

"There's more ambiance," says Donald. And it may not sound so bad, once you consider what Gerry Lopez, president of global consumer products calls "the smallest Starbucks store you ever saw"—a vending machine that will start dispensing lattes, mochas and hot cocoa in train stations and office complexes next year. The potential, says Donald, "is limitless."

Where does that leave the quintessential Starbucks experience—lounging around a café, sipping a French roast, surfing the Web? Ready for an upgrade of its own. Walk into the Northbrook, Ill., store, and you will see where Starbucks is headed. Bookcases line one wall, overflowing with espresso makers, French presses, coffee beans, thermoses and mugs. Next to a display case of food is a shelf full of CDs and DVDs. The space devoted to preparing drinks has been reduced by a quarter and re-engineered to conserve movement and space. Vertical shelves set into the wall help keep workers in one place as they reach for syrup bottles and tea bags. By the door are bins of coffee beans customers can touch and smell.

In the words of Levi Smith, who manages another next-generation prototype in Thornton, Colo., the new Starbucks evokes the concept of "coffee merchandiser." It is lively and crowded, with a lot going on at once. If you ask nicely, you can even get a cup of coffee. —With reporting by Rita Healy/Denver and Cynthia Martens/Chicago

87,000

Number of drink
combinations
available at a store



312

Millions of pounds of
coffee Starbucks
bought last year

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HOLIDAY MOVIES

What to do when there are only 12 days of Christmas but dozens of movies on offer? Here's a guide to some worth braving the crowds for

BY RICHARD CORLISS AND RICHARD SCHICKEL

IT'S AS IF THE FOLKS WHO RUN HOLLYWOOD thought, Nobody's busy in December, so let's fill their idle hours with lots of movies—serious ones as well as silly. By one count, the studios are releasing 66 features this holiday season, up from an already ginormous 58 last year. (Just on their own, Cate Blanchett and Kate Winslet seem to be starring in about 30 of them.) Who has the spare time to consume all this fabulous entertainment, other than Donald Rumsfeld?

"We do," your humble critics reply. We've slogged to dozens of screening rooms, propped our eyes open with toothpicks and dutifully agreed (poor us) to be paid to watch the movies you will soon pay to see. Amid the welter of ordinary movies and atrocious ones, we've found nine worthies—some with just good intentions, many that hit the mark. These are the more ambitious films on display this month, and they ardently hope to be around on the last Sunday night in February. For this is the season when kids write to Santa, and Hollywood starts dreaming of Oscar.



DREAMGIRLS

S

how biz is so in love with itself, sometimes it just has to sing. One of the most powerful self-addressed valentines was the musical *Dreamgirls*, which fictionalized the making and packaging of Diana Ross and the Supremes. The 1981 show, written by Tom Eyen and Henry Krieger and directed by Michael Bennett, now gets its own makeover—into a just-this-side-of-labulous movie.

Spanning the '60s and '70s, *Dreamgirls* is about the pop-cultural battle of glamour vs. soul: of Deena (Beyoncé Knowles), the pretty singer, vs. Effie (Jennifer Hudson), a vocal volcano but a bit plump. Curtis (Jamie Foxx), their manager, banking on Deena's smooth sound and looks to peddle the Dreams to white audiences, will do anything to make the sale. The piece plumbs the lure of compromise, the risk of diluted dreams and broken hearts.

Writer-director Bill Condon has made some compromises too: pumping up the role of a James Brownish bather to get Eddie Murphy more screen time, handing Beyoncé a new hollered-to even out a story that belongs to Effie. But, hey, that's show biz, and *Dreamgirls* has plenty of visual pizzazz to match its cast's charisma. American Idol's Hudson is sensational, mixing tenderness and the fructulence of an oughta-be star.

It's great to see a movie musical with a smart sense of the genre. All *Dreamgirls* lacks is the amazing energy and passion of the original. In a way, the film is less Effie, more Deena. —R.C.

The Dreams (Hudson, Knowles and Anika Noni Rose) sing, strut and shake their way to the top.

JAY-Z JAMES / PARAMOUNT

LETTERS FROM IWO JIMA

Last year, as he was preparing to shoot *Flags of Our Fathers*, his caustic epic about the U.S. invasion of Iwo Jima, Clint Eastwood got a script by his researcher, Iris Yamashita, about the soldiers on the other side of the battle and the losing side of the war. That cued Eastwood to make an Iwo Jima diptych and, after scouting Japanese filmmakers, to direct it himself (though he doesn't speak the language). The result is a unique, bifocal view of ground war—the men who fight it, the propaganda attending it, the awful way it ends.

Whereas *Flags* became a story of manufactured heroism, *Letters* is a poignant dirge for the defeated. In anticipation of the U.S. attack, Japanese soldiers have dug miles of tunnels to live in and fire from. But everyone, from the stalwart general (Ken Watanabe) on down, realizes that this anthill is to be a mass tomb. Waiting for an enemy with superior firepower, knowing you can't leave, knowing you can't win, knowing you will die—is this the tersest summary of war?

Tense is the word for Eastwood's directional style. It rarely editorializes; it doesn't emot or orate. It just tells the damn story of a soldier's honor, which means doing the job no matter the odds—indeed, no matter the mission. And like *Flags*, *Letters* offers a metaphor for the war in Iraq. The movie says that to live another day, in a mortally dangerous hellhole, is the best one can expect and the most one can do. —R.C.



Smith and real-life son Jaden try to get off skid row

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

That most agreeable of actors, Will Smith, keeps (as they say) "stretching." The question posed by *The Pursuit of Happyness* (the bad spelling is part of the story) is whether he's eventually going to bend himself completely out of shape. You have to wonder if making us feel bad for about 99% of a movie in order to make us feel good later is really a healthy thing for the actor or for the audience patiently enduring a string of bitter blows as his character, Chris Gardner, struggles to claim his share of the American dream and maintain his loving relationship with his son (played by Smith's own child, Jaden). You also have to wonder why director Gabriele Muccino chose to dramatize the poor man's plight by having him run constantly through the streets of San Francisco. What ever became of quiet desperation?

Gardner is based on a real character, a bright and ambitious young man who had everything required to succeed—except the right skin color. Do we believe he will triumph? Of course we do; they don't make major motion pictures about unproductive failures. Do we care about Gardner and son? Oddly, we do, because they are so appealingly played. What more might we wish for them? A movie that's a lot less repetitive. —R.S.

ZACH GOLDBERG

THE GOOD SHEPHERD

Skull and Bones, the most notorious of Yale's secret societies, must have been—and for all we know still is—pretty weird: nude initiation ceremonies, people singing *The Whiffenpoof Song* at inappropriate moments, a range of blob debutramps with permanent lockjaw to meet and marry. As *The Good Shepherd* would have it, Bones was the perfect breeding place for another, grander secret society, World War II's Office of Strategic Services, which morphed into the CIA. Robert De Niro's movie (skillfully written by Eric Roth) is a very persuasive and thoughtful study



of how the youthful and more muscular scions of the Wasp patriciate imposed their values, their sense of entitlement, on the U.S. and what that endeavor cost us—and the patricians.

The film focuses on Edward Wilson (Matt Damon), a composite of historical figures, who starts out wanting to be a poet and ends up being the bureaucrat at the center of some of the CIA's most notorious activities. Damon is terrific in the role—all-knowing, never overtly expressing a feeling. Indeed, so everyone else in this intricate, understated but ultimately devastating account of how secrets, when they are left to fester, can become an illness, dangerous to those who keep them, more so to nations that base their policies on them. —R.S.



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CURSE OF THE GOLDEN FLOWER

The knives are out at the palace, and Gong Li is staring daggers. Chinese cinema's haughtiest diva plays a 10th century Empress who is having an affair with her stepson while, she suspects, her husband (Chow Yun Fat) is slowly poisoning her. That's just for appetizers in a menu of long-lost parents, eloping lovers and the minor distraction of a civil war out in the grand courtyard.

Director Zhang Yimou (*Hero, House of Flying Daggers*) and his screenwriting collaborators seem to have swiped bits from Shakespeare's four main tragedies: the conniving wife from *Macbeth*, the jealous husband from *Othello*, the raging father and three skirmishing children from *King Lear* and the pileup of dead royals from *Hamlet*. There's swordplay and a supporting cast of warriors in the CGI thousands, but the most thrilling spectacle is the clash of ids and egos. Fans of epics in the *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* tradition may be confused or annoyed by the intensely lund tone of this movie. Well, all that means is that it's different—gorgeously garish, both in the color scheme (bold tints against the chrysanthemums of the film's title) and in the splash of wild emotion.

Chow, the long-ago supercool star of Hong Kong crime movies, parades a magnificent malevolence he's not unleashed before. And Gong Li, working for the first time in 11 years with the director (and ex-lover) who made her an international star in *Ju Dou* and *Raise the Red Lantern*, shows a passion that has never been so animated or tearful.

This is high, and high-wire, melodrama. It's less soap opera than grand opera, where matters of love and death are played at a perfect fever pitch. And grand this Golden Flower is. —R.C.



BLOOD DIAMOND

When a Hollywood star sports a foreign accent for one of his characters, viewers are tempted to say, Stop trying to hide; we know it's you. But Leonardo DiCaprio is such a resourceful actor, and such a magnetic movie presence, that he can persuasively slip into the character of Danny Archer, a diamond smuggler from Zimbabwe who's on the trail of a rock the size of Kilimanjaro. *Blood Diamond*, the fitfully engrossing drama from director Edward Zwick (*Glory, The Last Samurai*), links Danny with the diamond's discoverer, Solomon Vandy (Djimon Hounsou, ever noble), whose family has been seized in the brutal 1990s Sierra Leone civil war and sent to a refugee camp.

The movie's political message—that buying a diamond ring may unwittingly finance terrorism—is buried under two plot questions: Will Danny find Solomon's diamond? And will he locate a furtive dependency under all that artful scheming? Neither holds much suspense, since 1) this is an action movie and 2) DiCaprio takes lots of risks as an actor, but playing a total rotter isn't one of them.

From *Out of Africa* and *Cry Freedom* to *The Constant Gardener* and *Catch a Fire*, Hollywood has paraded its love for stories about Africa—as long as they're mostly about white people. The poignant suffering of the blacks is a backdrop to the play of Danny's mixed motives. And, honestly, that's enough, since DiCaprio, here as in *The Departed*, proves himself the most watchful and watchable actor of his age. Since his teens, he has known how to make moral dilemmas seem both profound and sexy, and at 32 he just keeps getting better. —R.C.

Hounsou has a mission, and DiCaprio a scheme, in war-ravaged Sierra Leone



Gong Li amps up the passion in this royal-family drama

MISS POTTER

The movies are ever awash in cheap, uplifting sentiment, which is to the genteel audience what cheap, degrading violence is to adolescents: the turn-on that dares not speak its name. So it's somewhat grudgingly that we recommend *Miss Potter*.

It is the story of Beatrix Potter, she of Peter Rabbit and dozens of other much loved children's books. When we meet her, she is a superannuated virgin, living with her well-to-do parents, writing about her "friends," the woodland creatures. She claims to talk to them, which may account for some of the twitchiness that occasionally mars Renée Zellweger's performance in the

title role. Potter, however, is made of willful stuff. She finds a publisher (Ewan McGregor) for her books, falls in love with him, achieves best-sellerdom and, in this telling of her life, status as a largely overlooked feminist icon and an early environmentalist.

Al Gore would love her. But, dammit, so do we. It's lovely to see her preserving her vision for her books against commercial compromise, even more warming to see her fight for love and for keeping her beloved Lake District landscape a green and pleasant place. The director, Chris Noonan, doesn't play to our sentiments, he just lets them naturally evolve—even the animation of a few of her drawings doesn't feel especially forced. The result is an honorable and curiously winning film. —R.S.



Law, a man adrift, has an affair with a lovely Bosnian

BREAKING AND ENTERING

Anthony Minghella's basic filmmaking impulse is toward the romantic epic (*The English Patient*, *Cold Mountain*). He likes to do long, ultimately unhappy love stories set against agitated historical backgrounds that impinge on the fates of his lovers. *Breaking and Entering*, though set in contemporary London, is a film of that character.

A firm of landscape architects keeps being robbed by an acrobatic young man, Will (Jude Law), one of the practice's partners, traces him and enters into an affair with the boy's mother (Juliette Binoche), who's a widowed seamstress trying to put the miseries of her Bosnian past behind her. The affair is perhaps understandable because Will is unhappy at home. His partner Liv (Robin Wright Penn) has a near autistic daughter, whose care obsesses and distracts Liv. Eventually order and forgiveness are imposed on these troubled lives.

The film is handsomely mounted and well played (particularly by the always magical Binoche—such a wonderfully alert actress), but somehow it never draws one into its schemes. Possibly that's because Minghella (who also wrote the script) has too much on his mind—the costs of urban gentrification, the unhappinesses of emigré and bourgeois life. Minghella is a decent-minded filmmaker. And a liberal-minded one too. He wants his characters to emerge morally instructed and reasonably happy. But it's not a lofty goal, and this is a movie that plods while we keep hoping it will soar. —R.S.

NOTES ON A SCANDAL

Smirk, smirk. Pretty, slightly ditzy schoolteacher (Cate Blanchett) gets it on with one of her teenage students, and predictable consequences follow. But *Notes on a Scandal* is not really about age-inappropriate sex or child victimization. The boy involved is always the rather ugly aggressor in this relationship. If there is a victim, it is Blanchett's Sheba, added by an unhappy marriage, failed artistic ambitions and, soon enough, by another relationship—this one from hell. It is with another teacher, Barbara (Judi Dench), who is their

school's battle-ax—cruel disciplinarian, cynical commentator on the hopelessness of its lower-class student body and, yes, a scheming lesbian. Once she discovers Sheba's crime, she attempts to use it to blackmail her. Dench is nothing less than great in this role. It's hard to recall a recent performance of such unrelenting ferocity, such a thoroughgoing devotion to the domination of another life.

Notes on a Scandal is melodrama trying to pass itself off as a slice of realistic life. But director Richard Eyre and screenwriter Patrick Marber keep forcing us past disbelief and into the perverse pleasures of nastiness. If nothing else, their film is the perfect antidote to all those warm, forgiving schoolboy dramas we've endured through the years. This corn is not green; it is rotten down to the last kernel. —R.S.



Teacher Blanchett gets hard life lessons from the domineering Dench



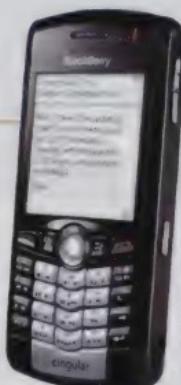
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MILKING IT Filmmaker (with phone) and friend do some alfresco p.r.

to transcendental meditation—which he documents in a new book, *Catching the Big Fish: Meditation, Consciousness, and Creativity*—came in handy. "Since I believe in the unified field, which unites everything, I figured some day I would understand that they do relate," he says.

Lynch may understand it. Audiences may not. That hasn't stopped his earlier films from gaining a following of people who spend an awful lot of time trying. Many critics considered his last movie, 2001's *Mulholland Dr.*, released by Universal Pictures, a huge creative achievement, but it made a forgettable \$20 million in theaters. By forgoing a distributor this time, Lynch gets to skip the awkward step where he turns over control of his vision to those linear folks, studio marketers. "People seeing the film together on a big screen in a dark room with really good sound is really important to me," says Lynch, who released his first film, *Eraserhead*, himself in 1977. "But any film like mine that's not seen as a summer blockbuster is getting harder to get into the theaters. It's so depressing."

It's not that Lynch couldn't get a distributor. "He has a great, twisted psyche that always gets some sort of primal response from people," says Eamonn Bowles, president of Magnolia Pictures, an indie company that "had some interest" in distributing *Empire* but never made the deal. It's that the do-it-yourself ethic that attracted Lynch to the Sony PD150 seemed suited to an experiment in distribution as well. Self-distribution is "very brave," says Dern. "But it doesn't make it easier. Nothing about this is traditional."

Lynch is embarking on an eight-city promotional road tour of the U.S. later this month. When he first started thinking about the costs of self-distribution, he was told of a \$2.8 million Oscar publicity campaign for an actress in another current movie, recalls Dern. "He went insane," she says, beginning to imitate Lynch's clipped Midwestern accent. "People are starving! That's disgusting. I could go stand on a street corner and talk about my actors!" As soon as I heard 'I could stand on a street corner,' I thought, Oh, no." Perhaps because there aren't actually any cows in *Inland Empire*, Dern didn't anticipate the bovine prop, however. "The Academy members love show business," explains Lynch. "And this is show business, being out with the cow."

MOVIES

Yes, That's David Lynch

The highly regarded director has always been considered eccentric. Now he's getting mad

By REBECCA WINTERS KEEGAN

ACULT MOVIE DIRECTOR AND A COW wait placidly on a busy Los Angeles street corner on a sunny autumn day. A giant image of Laura Dern's face printed with the words FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION looms beside them. The director delivers an encomium on cheese. The scene is surreal enough to be from a David Lynch movie, and it is, a two-minute film that has been downloaded more than 50,000 times on YouTube since it was posted Nov. 9. The director of *Blue Velvet* and *Twin Peaks* didn't direct this one: a couple of guys named Nate and Matt recorded Lynch's street-corner Oscar campaign for Dern's performance in his new film, *Inland Empire*. But *Empire* is only marginally less homespun, and although it's not on YouTube, the director is distributing it himself.

Empire, Lynch says, is "about a woman in trouble." But even by the standards applied to Lynch's films, which exist in their own genre of weird, *Empire* is a doozy. It's three hours long, with no real plot, but

rather a Greek chorus of Valley Girls cum crack whores, scenes of rabbits watching TV and Dern playing three different characters. At least three; Dern's not sure. "Once David said there were four, and I was like, Wait a minute—what?" she says.

The *Empire* endeavor began more than three years ago when Lynch started noodling with a Sony PD150 camera, which costs less than \$3,000. "It's little, and they tell me it's bad quality," says Lynch. "I started shooting experiments with it and kind of loved the quality. It reminded me of early 35 mm. When there isn't a lot of information in a frame, it leaves a person room to dream."

Dreams and consciousness streams are the stuff of which Lynch films are made. A script? Not so much. Because he's considered an auteur, Lynch was able to convene a cast, including Jeremy Irons and Harry Dean Stanton, before he wrote *Empire*. "I'd get an idea for a scene, write the scene, gather people together and shoot that scene," says Lynch. "I didn't know if the second scene would relate to the first or the third." This is where Lynch's decades-long commitment

"THE ACADEMY LOVES SHOW BUSINESS. THIS IS SHOW BUSINESS, BEING OUT WITH THE COW."



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think it is?

If you use a fast-acting inhaler for asthma symptoms more than twice a week, it's a sign that your asthma may not be under control. And if that's the case, you should talk to your doctor about adding SINGULAIR. SINGULAIR helps prevent asthma symptoms, so you may not need your fast-acting inhaler as much. That means more control over your asthma. SINGULAIR also helps provide effective 24-hour control in a once-a-day tablet. What's more, SINGULAIR is steroid free and is also approved to help relieve both indoor and outdoor allergy symptoms.

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IMPORTANT INFORMATION: SINGULAIR will NOT replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms. Continue to take your other asthma medicines as prescribed and have fast-acting medication available. If your doctor has prescribed medicine to use before exercise, keep taking it unless your doctor tells you not to. If your asthma symptoms get worse or you need to increase the use of your fast-acting inhaler, call your doctor at once. Side effects are generally mild and vary by age, and may include headache, ear infection, sore throat, and upper respiratory infection.

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Patient Information
SINGULAIR® (sing'u-lair) Tablets, Chewable Tablets, and Oral Granules

Generic name: montelukast (mon'-te-loo-kast) sodium

Read this information before you start taking SINGULAIR®. Also, read the leaflet you get each time you refill SINGULAIR, since there may be new information in the leaflet since the last time you saw it. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition and/or your treatment.

What is SINGULAIR®?

• SINGULAIR is a medicine called a leukotriene receptor antagonist. It works by blocking substances in the body called leukotrienes. Blocking leukotrienes improves asthma and allergic rhinitis. SINGULAIR is not a steroid. Studies have shown that SINGULAIR does not affect the growth rate of children. (See the end of this leaflet for more information about asthma and allergic rhinitis.)

SINGULAIR is prescribed for the treatment of asthma and allergic rhinitis:

1. Asthma.

SINGULAIR should be used for the long-term management of asthma in adults and children ages 12 months and older.

Do not take SINGULAIR for the immediate relief of an asthma attack. If you get an asthma attack, you should follow the instructions your doctor gave you for treating asthma attacks.

2. Allergic Rhinitis.

SINGULAIR is used to help control the symptoms of allergic rhinitis (sneezing, stuffy nose, runny nose, itching of the nose). SINGULAIR is used to treat seasonal allergic rhinitis (outdoor allergies that happen all year) in adults and children ages 2 years and older, and perennial allergic rhinitis (indoor allergies that happen all year) in adults and children ages 6 months and older.

Who should not take SINGULAIR?

Do not take SINGULAIR if you are allergic to SINGULAIR or any of its ingredients.

The active ingredient in SINGULAIR is montelukast sodium.

See the end of this leaflet for a list of all the ingredients in SINGULAIR.

What should I tell my doctor before I start taking SINGULAIR?

Tell your doctor about:

- **Pregnancy:** If you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant, SINGULAIR may not be right for you.
- **Breast-feeding:** If you are breast-feeding, SINGULAIR may be passed in your milk to your baby. You should consult your doctor before taking SINGULAIR if you are breast-feeding or intend to breast-feed.
- **Medical Problems or Allergies:** Talk about any medical problems or allergies you have now or had in the past.
- **Other Medicines:** Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may affect how SINGULAIR works, or SINGULAIR may affect how your other medicines work.

How should I take SINGULAIR?

For adults and children 12 months of age and older with asthma:

- Take SINGULAIR once a day in the evening.
- Take SINGULAIR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it, even if you have no asthma symptoms.
- You may take SINGULAIR with food or without food.
- If your asthma symptoms get worse, or if you need to increase the use of your inhaler, call your doctor for asthma advice. Call your doctor right away.
- **Do not take SINGULAIR for the immediate relief of an asthma attack.** If you get an asthma attack, you should follow the instructions your doctor gave you for treating asthma attacks.
- Always have your inhaler rescue medicine for asthma attacks with you.
- Do not take SINGULAIR longer than the dose of your other asthma medicine unless your doctor tells you to.
- If your doctor has prescribed a medicine for you to use before exercise, keep using that medicine unless your doctor tells you not to.

For adults and children 2 years of age and older with seasonal allergic rhinitis, or for adults and children 6 months of age and older with perennial allergic rhinitis:

Take SINGULAIR once a day, at about the same time each day.

- Take SINGULAIR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it.
- You may take SINGULAIR with food or without food.

How should I give SINGULAIR oral granules to my child?

Do not open the packet until ready to use.

SINGULAIR 4-mg oral granules can be given:

- dissolved in 1 teaspoonful (5 mL) of cold or room temperature baby formula or breast milk;
 - mixed with a spoonful of one of the following soft foods at cold or room temperature: applesauce, mashed carrots, rice, or ice cream.
- Be sure that the entire dose is mixed with the food, baby formula, or breast milk and that the child is given the entire spoonful of the food, baby formula, or breast milk mixture right away (within 15 minutes).

IMPORTANT: Never store any oral granules mixed with food, baby formula, or breast milk for use at a later time. Throw away any unused portion.

Do not put SINGULAIR oral granules in any liquid drink other than baby formula or breast milk. However, your child may drink liquids after swallowing the SINGULAIR oral granules.

What is the daily dose of SINGULAIR for asthma or allergic rhinitis?

For Asthma (Take in the evening):

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older,
- One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14 years of age,
- One 4-mg chewable tablet or one packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 2 to 5 years of age, or
- One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 12 to 23 months of age.

For Allergic Rhinitis (Take at about the same time each day):

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older,
- One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14 years of age,
- One 4-mg chewable tablet for children 2 to 5 years of age,
- One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 2 to 5 years of age with seasonal allergic rhinitis, or for children 6 months to 5 years of age with perennial allergic rhinitis.

What should I avoid while taking SINGULAIR?

If you have asthma and if your asthma is made worse by aspirin, continue to avoid aspirin or other medicines called non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs while taking SINGULAIR.

What are the possible side effects of SINGULAIR?

The side effects of SINGULAIR are usually mild, and generally did not cause patients to stop taking their medicine. The side effects in patients treated with SINGULAIR were similar in type and frequency to side effects in patients who were given a placebo (a pill containing no medicine).

The most common side effects with SINGULAIR include:

- stomach pain
- stomach or intestinal upset
- heartburn
- tiredness
- fever
- stuffy nose
- cough
- flu
- upper respiratory infection
- dizziness
- headache
- rash

Less common side effects that have happened with SINGULAIR include (listed alphabetically):

- agitation including aggressive behavior, allergic reactions (including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat, which may cause trouble breathing or swallowing), hives, and itching, bad/vivid dreams, increased bleeding tendency, bruising, diarrhea, drowsiness, hallucinations (seeing things that are not there), headache, hiccups, increased sweating, narrowing of the passages, irritability, joint pain, muscle aches and muscle cramps, nausea, palpitations, pins and needles/numbness, restlessness, seizures (convulsions or fits), swelling, trouble sleeping, and vomiting.

Rarely, asthmatic patients taking SINGULAIR have experienced a condition that includes certain symptoms that do not go away or that get worse. These occur usually, but not always, in patients who were taking steroid pills by mouth for asthma and those steroids were being slowly lowered or stopped. Although SINGULAIR has not been shown to cause this condition, you must tell your doctor right away if you get one or more of these symptoms:

- a feeling of pins and needles or numbness of arms or legs
- a flu-like illness
- rash
- severe inflammation (pain and swelling) of the sinuses (sinusitis)

These are not all the possible side effects of SINGULAIR. For more information ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Talk to your doctor if you think you have side effects from taking SINGULAIR.

General Information about the safe and effective use of SINGULAIR

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use SINGULAIR for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give SINGULAIR to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them. Keep SINGULAIR and all medicines out of the reach of children.

Store SINGULAIR at 25°C (77°F). Protect from moisture and light. Store in original packages.

This leaflet summarizes information about SINGULAIR. If you would like more information, talk to your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about SINGULAIR that is written for health professionals.

What are the ingredients in SINGULAIR?

Active ingredient: montelukast sodium

SINGULAIR chewable tablets contain aspartame, a source of phenylalanine.

Phenylketonurics: SINGULAIR 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets contain 0.674 and 0.842 mg phenylalanine, respectively.

Inactive ingredients:

- 4-mg oral granules: mannitol, hydroxypropyl cellulose, and magnesium stearate.
- 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets: mannitol, microcrystalline cellulose, hydroxypropyl cellulose, red ferric oxide, citric acid, croscarmellose sodium, flavor, aspartame, and magnesium stearate.
- 10-mg tablet: microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, croscarmellose sodium, hydroxypropyl cellulose, magnesium stearate, hydroxypropyl methylcellulose, titanium dioxide, red ferric oxide, yellow ferric oxide, and carnauba wax.

What is asthma?

Asthma is a continuing (chronic) inflammation of the bronchial passageways which are the tubes that carry air from outside the body to the lungs.

Symptoms of asthma include:

- coughing
- wheezing
- chest tightness
- shortness of breath

What is allergic rhinitis?

- Seasonal allergic rhinitis, also known as hay fever, is triggered by outdoor allergens such as pollens from trees, grasses, and weeds.
- Perennial allergic rhinitis may occur year-round and is generally triggered by indoor allergens such as dust mites, animal dander, and/or mold spores.
- Symptoms of allergic rhinitis may include:
 - stuffy, runny, and/or itchy nose
 - sneezing

Rx only

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5 GREAT PHOTO BOOKS

To wrap up an issue filled with pictures, here are some terrific picture books

ART PHOTOGRAPHY NOW

SUSAN BRIGHT

FORGET TWILIGHT still lifes and peachy nudes. The photography in Bright's lively survey of 80 artists who work with cameras has more to do with staged scenes of suburban anxiety, mock heroic tableaux of heavily armed children and the determined contemplation of whatever is enigmatic or

unnerving. (There are a fair number of nudes, though none you would think to call peachy.) Thanks to Bright, you also get to enjoy the sight of Kate Moss, above, in a picture by the photo-collaborators Mert Alas and Marcus Piggott, holding a lit cigarette between her toes—providing one more reason she's considered among the most versatile figures in professional modeling.



FRAGILE EARTH

MASSIVE change is the theme of this book, which documents the climate transformations the planet has been undergoing in recent years, many of them undesirable, most a result of human actions. As you might expect from a book assembled to convince you that something very unpleasant is afoot, the images are sobering. All the same, there's a considerable wow factor in the aerial and space photography the editors frequently use to illustrate their points about melting ice caps, advancing deserts and

rising sea levels. They have a particular thing for discouraging compare-and-contrast shots of sights like Iraqi wetlands before and after being drained by Saddam Hussein, the disappearance of the once permanent snow on the summit of Mount Kilimanjaro and, worst of all, the sinister and apparently unstoppable spread of Las Vegas. So it's true: Céline Dion may be as much of a threat to the planet as global warming.

▼ A PHOTOGRAPHER'S LIFE

ANNIE LEIBOVITZ

CLEVER THOUGH they may be, Leibovitz's celebrity por-

traits can sometimes remind you of an armored car: big, heavyset and built for serious business. In this book of pictures taken from 1990 to 2005, the celebrity pics, with their industrial-strength charm, are back—the naked and pregnant Demi Moore, Brad Pitt languishing on an orange bedsheet—but there are informal family shots as well, like one of her brother and father, below, and many pictures of her longtime beloved, the writer Susan Sontag, even as the ailing Sontag ventures toward death. Leibovitz's unflinching final portrait of her, laid out just after she died, is unforgettable.



ON THE STREET

AMY ARBUS

FROM 1980 TO 1990, Arbus wandered the streets of



Manhattan making pictures of the more style-conscious locals for the *Village Voice*. Looking at them now, you can't help seeing affinities with the work of her mother Diane Arbus. They both were drawn to extravagant specimens of humanity, but in Amy's pictures the skinheads, drag queens and assorted hipsters no longer seem like unsettling loners. They're self-possessed public actors, pleased to be flourishing their regalia.



ELLIS ISLAND

STEPHEN WILKES

SIXTEEN YEARS ago, the north side of Ellis Island, the famed New York entry point for generations of immigrants, was magnificently renovated. But the hospital compound on the south side, where many arrivals were held in quarantine, was left to decay. For five years, Wilkes roamed the disintegrating buildings, with their cracked plaster and peeling paint, to make pictures of their gorgeous decrepitude. (Congress has since allocated money to preserve them.) Decline has never looked more haunting. —By Richard Lacayo





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The Fight For the Middle

JCPENNEY AND KOHL'S ARE
DUKING IT OUT IN A MARKET
SECTOR THEY'VE REVIVED

BY
DODY
TSIANTAR

THE JCPENNEY AT THE QUEENS Center mall in Elmhurst, N.Y., is decked out for the holidays. Nothing surprising there. But

visit the second floor, and you'll find something quite unexpected sandwiched between women's coats and fine jewelry: a 3,100-sq.-ft. Sephora, the European retailer known for its hip beauty products. The boutique is a miniversion of a typical Sephora store, replete with fanciful makeup and pricey skin-care lines presented on accessible, self-service shelves.



KOHL'S

The 817-store discounter is adopting a more department-store-like feel with more stylish displays and a new beauty section. One of the highlights: a warehouse-like shoe section

The lighting and signage are exactly the same as in a Sephora store, as is the black-and-white color scheme. Step out of the space, though, and the techno-pop sound track gives way to the drone of holiday background music, and you're back where you started—the second floor of a department store.

The new store within a store—one of five Sephoras opened in a Penney in October—is part of the new face of a century-old retailer and the \$18.8 billion company's strategy to attract younger, more affluent female customers. Come March, 10 more Sephoras will open, followed by nine more in June. "It's a brilliant move," says Citigroup analyst Deborah Weinswig. "It has a halo effect on the whole store."

Across the Hudson River at the Newport Centre mall in Jersey City, N.J., Kohl's, the \$13.4 billion chain based in Menomonee Falls, Wis., is in the middle of its own makeover. The store, opened just in time for the prime shopping season, is the antithesis of the formula that has worked for Kohl's since it was founded in 1962. Unlike its hallmark one-floor, off-mall format, loved by suburban working moms, this two-story unit lies smack-dab in the

center of—drumroll, please—a mall, directly across from none other than Macy's. Even Kohl's off-mall stores are changing, taking on a more department-store-like look. At a new Kohl's in Brandon, Fla., for example, big glass windows, slick white benches and piped-in music welcome shoppers. "We're all about responding to our customers, focusing on what we sell and putting it in an exciting environment for them," says Kevin Mansell, president of Kohl's. "We want to broaden our reach."

Penney and Kohl's aren't just hanging holiday tinsel to get customers to fill up their Christmas stockings. By adding exclusive-to-them designer labels and partnering with upscale sellers, they are

redeveloping the middle market, a segment once thought lost forever in the crush between the high and low end. "Both JCPenney and Kohl's have come to understand what their shoppers expect: great prices every day, ease of shopping and an exciting store," says Wendy Liebmann, founder of WSL Strategic Retail, a consultancy that publishes quarterly surveys on how Americans shop. "They're working hard to address the needs of the core, Middle America shopper."

Retailers are heading for a decent if not solid Christmas, but the industry is still sorting itself out after a series of big deals and big changes. Last year Federated, which owns Macy's, swallowed up the more moderate May Department Stores. Macy's, having replaced with its own marquee some famous regional department-store names—Marshall Field's, Famous-Barr, Kaufmann's, Filene's—experienced a strong 8.5% increase in same-store sales for November. Sears, which combined with Kmart in 2004, is still struggling. And Wal-Mart, in the throes of a mammoth, disruptive restructuring, reported a dismal 0.1% drop in sales.

Penney and Kohl's, even with all their fine-tuning, stand to have a relatively merry Christmas. Indeed, sales at Kohl's

KOHL'S vs. JCPENNEY

Total sales past four quarters, in billions		Net income for the past four quarters, in millions	
Kohl's	JCPenney	Kohl's	JCPenney
\$14.2	\$19.1	\$929.6	\$1,174
Selling space (million sq. ft.)	Sales per sq. ft.		
56.6	101.4	\$252	\$221

stores that have been open at least a year—a key industry measurement—rose 3.7%. JCPenney reported a somewhat disappointing 1.4% increase (Wall Street was hoping for 3.7%), but its online sales rose 17.5% in November. And the portent for more good things to come is evident. Consider the results for the third quarter: Penney, which only a few years ago was in deep trouble, reported a 22.6% increase in net income, while Kohl's racked up a 45% gain. "It's the sweet spot in the market," says Marshal Cohen, a retail-industry analyst for the NPD Group. "The lower end is reaching upward."

Penney and Kohl's are taking advantage of the middle opportunity. "They're cannibalizing the market from beneath them, and they're benefiting from the trickle down from traditional department stores who are trading out of Middle America," says David Wolfe, a fashion-retail consultant for the Doneger Group in New York City. "They're getting it coming and going."

And they're expecting more. For starters, both companies are aggressively expanding and experimenting with new formats. Kohl's opened 65 stores in

October on a single day, the biggest one-day opening in the company's history. Penney, based in Plano, Texas, opened 20 stores that same month, most in off-mall locales. Both companies have plans for a lot more: Penney, which operates 1,037 stores, has announced that it will open 50 stores annually through 2008, while the 817-store Kohl's intends to tack on 400

"IT'S THE SWEET SPOT IN THE MARKET. THE LOWER END IS REACHING UPWARD." —MARSHAL COHEN, NPD GROUP

stores to the chain by 2010, some inside urban malls. The company has also said it will remodel at least 40 older stores by the end of 2007. But Robin Lewis, a retail consultant and newsletter publisher in New York City, says Kohl's will grow sales faster than Penney because its corporate structure is less bureaucratic and layered. "Kohl's has an advantage because it is leaner and meaner," says Lewis. "It can respond more quickly, and its low-cost business model gives it greater flexibility."

Yet both stores these days are looking to pull in more younger female customers. Walk into any newly remodeled JCPenney

and behold a spiffy new map at the door to ease your shopping and a customer-service desk right at the entrance. Clothes are neatly grouped by lifestyle, trendy denim in one spot, work outfits in another. And they're labeled clearly, unlike in older stores. In early fall, Penney even sponsored the MTV Video Music Awards, running a series of live ads during the

broadcast. It's a fairly radical move, given the store's uncool heritage.

Kohl's, on the other hand, is trying to soften its limoleum-floored, no-frills, discount image. Its new stores—and the 40 old ones on track to be remodeled—have a decidedly more feminine look. The merchandise is less cluttered and more invitingly displayed, some of it on mannequins, fixtures not previously seen in Kohl's. Fitting rooms are larger and more comfortable too. "Both chains have made a tremendous effort to freshen up their stores and their image," says Amanda Nicholson, assistant professor of retail

PHOTO BY ANDREW HETHERINGTON FOR TIME



Competition

management at Syracuse University's Whitman School of Management. "They've relaunched their private labels, reduced merchandise cycle times and introduced new lively and appealing graphics and put them front and center in their stores."

There's also plenty of action in the retail-technology department. New point-of-sale software at both chains has helped them keep the optimal mix of inventory on store racks, according to Citigroup's Weinwig. "It's increased profit margins and made them more efficient," she says. Specifically, Penney will have installed 35,000 new devices at checkout counters by the end of the year.

Is this a newly minted version of the classic Macy's vs. Gimbel's rivalry? "It's absolutely a battle," says Steven Keith Platt of the Platt Retail Institute, an industry think tank in Hindale, Ill. "They're both going after the same market—the female. She controls the purse strings." Both chains dismiss the notion of a retail slugfest. But it is clear that each chain is borrowing a page from the other's business model. For example, 22 of the 25 stores that Penney opened in the third quarter were situated in very Kohl's-like locales, a different approach for the mall-based Penney. Myron (Mike) Ullman, the former Macy's honcho who is now CEO of JCPenney, bristles at the comparison. "Let me point out that James Cash Penney opened his first store in 1902, off-mall. This is not new for us," he says. "Kohl's is a great competitor. But this isn't their turf. We had to put stores where people are in order to grow."

Meanwhile, Kohl's, a chain known for

Ullman says Penney has "style and quality comparable to higher-end department stores."

"LET ME POINT OUT THAT JAMES CASH PENNEY OPENED HIS FIRST STORE IN 1902, OFF-MALL. THIS IS NOT NEW FOR US."

—JCPENNEY CHAIRMAN AND CEO MIKE ULLMAN



PHOTO BY MICHAEL M. KIRK

selling brand-name merchandise at discount prices, is adapting Penney's successful, exclusive-label strategy—that is, getting well-known designers or brands to create products that will be available in its stores only. It already has partnerships with Estée Lauder, which has created other exclusive brands for the retailer; Ralph Lauren (Chaps); skateboarder Tony Hawk; and Cuban-American model and actress Daisy Fuentes. Next up in early 2007: a blockbuster partnership with designer Vera Wang and an exclusive housewares partnership with the Food Network. Says Kohl's president, Mansell: "We're creating an umbrella of 'only at Kohl's' to highlight our differentiation. It's what our core female customer wants." For the moment, private labels and exclusive national brands account for about a third of Kohl's revenues.

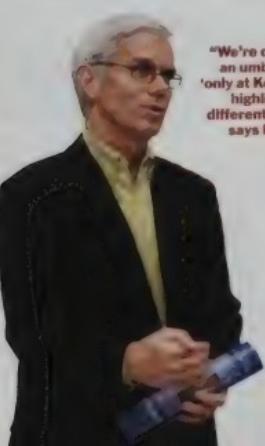
Despite Kohl's new marketing initiatives, Penney still has the edge in private brands. About 45% of its revenues come from the store's 34 exclusive labels, like a line of women's working clothes by Nicole Miller and bedding, bath items and linens from home-design celebrity Chris Madden. In early 2007, the retailer will introduce two new exclusive Liz Claiborne lines and launch its biggest house label yet, Ambrielle, a collection of intimate apparel that is likely to compete with Limited's Victoria's Secret chain. "It's clear to our customers that our brands have the style and quality that are comparable to higher-end department stores, at a smarter price. That may sound casual, but it's our underlying premise," says Ullman, who points out that the retailer's seven major private brands

contributed \$5 billion in sales to the company's coffers this year.

Penney has another feather in its cap: a more established online presence than Kohl's. Last January, in fact, its online sales hit \$1 billion—and in the third quarter, sales via the Internet rose an impressive 27%. Ullman boasts that the company is "the largest mass merchant" online. A key advantage: the infrastructure set up to support the company's decades-old catalog business.

The ability to buy wares at a mouse click is invariably a big selling point for time-pressed customers. But ultimately the revival of Penney and the continued success of Kohl's can be traced to one thing: women are simply finding things in these stores that they want to buy. And it has certainly helped that Wal-Mart botched an attempt to upgrade the fashion quotient in its apparel offerings. "JCPenney and Kohl's finally got the merchandise right," says Nicholson. "It's hipper, and it's not boring anymore."

Is it possible that these stores are becoming—egads!—cheap chic, as Target was a few years ago? Consultant Wolfe thinks so. "It's almost cool now to say 'I bought it at Penney's,'" he says. Suzanne O'Callahan, 35, a mother of four and a regular Kohl's shopper, certainly agrees. "I just walked through Macy's and didn't find anything, but I've been here for about an hour already," she said, her arms full of clothes, on a recent afternoon at the new Jersey City store. "I always shop at Kohl's. And so do my friends." For JCPenney and Kohl's, comments like those must sound as joyful as jingle bells. —With reporting by Wendy Malloy/Brandon



"We're creating an umbrella of 'only at Kohl's' to highlight our differentiation," says Mansell



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Smiling siblings
Harvey, left, and Bob
in a comfort zone:
Manhattan's Tribeca
Screening Room

INSIDE BUSINESS

Show Business



AFTER DEPARTING DISNEY,
THE WEINSTEINS HAVE A NEW
LABEL AND A NEW STRATEGY.

Play It Again, Boys

BY
**JEFFREY
RESSNER**

HARVEY WEINSTEIN HAS A PERFECT ENDING IN mind for Miramax Films, the company he and his brother Bob were forced to leave behind in 2005 when they departed the Walt Disney Co. after 12 colorful years. In Harvey's final scene, the two snag back the name from the media giant, which has turned Miramax into a déclassé, financially diminished Mouse brand. Harvey, the brash movie mogul who helped spin the low-budget indie-film trade

into a booming business, doesn't need more wealth. And he's not pushing for another Academy Award. He won the hardware in 1999 for producing *Shakespeare in Love*, and he has marketed pictures that have scored nearly 60 other Oscars. But Miramax holds special meaning for the brothers primarily because it was named after their mother Miriam and their deceased father Max. That's about as sentimental as Harvey gets. At Disney his brawls with filmmakers and show-biz executives made almost as many headlines as his shrewd, aggressive handling of such quirky hits as *The Crying Game*, *Pulp Fiction* and *Chicago*.

"We're different now, and so we're doing something completely different."

says Harvey. While they would love to reclaim the old name, one thing the Weinsteins don't want back is the old film-business model. "We've already done a movie company. Today we're in the business of providing content and our own distribution pipelines."

The siblings are heading a new entity called simply the Weinstein Co., which sounds relatively unflashy, although its grand ambitions dwarf anything the pair did at Disney. Movie production and acquisition still form the backbone, but the Weinstein Co. is positioned more as a diversified boutique media company encompassing home video, cable television, Broadway theater, book publishing, video

games and, of course, the Internet. With dozens of projects under way, the Weinsteins estimate that they'll break even next year, turn a profit in 2008 and probably launch an IPO by the decade's end.

If so, it will mark the brothers' third financial bonanza in show business, the first taking place when they sold their struggling indie-movie company to Disney in 1993 for \$70 million. After bristling for years under the control-freak management of former Disney CEO Michael Eisner, they ended the bitter final chapter of their Miramax reign on an up note. "After we signed our final contracts, we took all the Disney lawyers to a three-hour, raucous, rollicking dinner," recalls Harvey.

A 1970s-style double feature from Quentin Tarantino and partner Robert Rodriguez is on tap.



Show Business

The boys had good reason to celebrate. They got not only an estimated \$130 million in goodbye bucks but also fabulous parting gifts: shared distribution rights to completed pictures, brother Bob's lucrative Dimension Films label, sequel rights to (and split proceeds from) 15 movies, including *Scary Movie*, *Scream* and *Spy Kids*. The Weinsteins had both capital and content—starting anew but not a start-up, says Bob.

Investors have thrown money at them. They amassed a \$1.2 billion bankroll, including \$500 million through a debt sale and the remainder via 32 investors ranging from fellow entrepreneurs like Internet billionaire Mark Cuban and carpet kingpin Julian Saul to hedge funds and financial firms, including Wellington Management and Fidelity Investments. Declares Harvey: "We now have the ability to buy a company for a billion dollars."

Yet their indie upbringing taught them to be tight with a dollar and careful about cash flow. A key strategy calls for building a formidable library that can spin off immediate revenues while providing fodder for various platforms. Former MGM owner Kirk Kerkorian—who flipped his studio three times—advised the Weinsteins to scoop up all the solid content they could get their hands on. The fickle nature of the movie business makes each film a gamble.

DEAL OR DEAL?

The Weinstein brothers have struck numerous alliances and partnerships since launching their multimedia company. Here's a brief sampling.

BLOCKBUSTER An exclusive rental-only agreement with the Weinsteins' Genius video label means more support for B- and C-list titles.

HALLMARK A recent licensing pact includes 600 TV movies (including the hit miniseries *Lonesome Dove*) as well as new projects and co-productions.

TELEVISA U.S. and Canadian home-video rights for nearly 200 Mexican feature films allow entrée into the growing Spanish-language market.

OUR STORIES The Weinsteins will distribute African-American family comedies produced by BET founder Robert Johnson's new film company.

OVATION When the brothers were with Disney, they wanted to buy into Bravo or IFC. A stake in this small arts channel finally gets them a cable-TV home they can call their own.

"OUR PARTNERS ARE DELIRIOUSLY HAPPY. THEY'VE OFFERED US ADDITIONAL CAPITAL—MULTIBILLIONS—for EXPANSION."

—HARVEY WEINSTEIN



New biopics *Factory Girl*, above, and *Miss Potter*, left, are the Weinstein Co.'s Oscar hopefuls

Hence a large library reduces overall risk.

Summing up their strategy, Mike Medavoy, a veteran producer involved with the Weinsteins on two projects, says, "They probably learned a few lessons from their time at Disney. No. 1: it's nice to have a big banker in back of you. No. 2: this business is filled with mistakes, and margins are shrinking, so you have to be more careful than ever before. And No. 3: it's good to hedge your bets."

In the evolving media environment, the Weinsteins are multiproduct, multichannel. "One of the most important things is the ability to do a lot of movies and slot them in various places," says Harvey. "Some will go directly to TV or video or the Net. Others will go to theaters. It's a brave new world." Plans call for 18 big-screen projects in 2007, with an equal or greater number going direct to video. "The emphasis on theatrical is to be pickier," he explains.

Their early slate of theatrical releases has had mixed results. Hits included sequels *Clerks II* and *Scary Movie 4*, along with the computer-animated *Hoodwinked!* Another toon, *Doogal*, was a dog, as was *Mrs. Henderson Presents*. "We've been hitting singles and doubles, but when you get a lot of those, they turn into runs," says Harvey.

Over the past year, the brothers seem to have made more big deals than big movies. "Our meetings used to be about

acquiring films. Now they're about acquiring companies," Bob recently told Harvey, only half-joking. They got 70% of publicly traded home-video label Genius Products in exchange for licensing the DVD rights to Weinstein movies—a "pretty radical" move, says Genius chairman Stephen Bannon. Genius distributes material from World Wrestling Entertainment, Discovery Kids and ESPN and in November signed an exclusive rental agreement with Blockbuster. Other affiliations include ownership of a small arts and entertainment channel with Hubbard Broadcasting, J.P. Morgan Chase and Perry Capital; a publishing pact with Hachette; a production arrangement with BET founder Robert Johnson; and a new Latin American film fund.

Their most undervalued asset, says Harvey, is a stake in private online company aSmallWorld.net, an invitation-only social-networking site that hopes to attract international movers and shakers: think of it as a MySpace for millionaires, where you could interact with Naomi Campbell instead of Tila Tequila.

Ah, but it's only money. The real prize lies in the pursuit of power, innovation and, of course, approval from Mom. Miriam Weinstein, 80, is still upset with Disney for not allowing her sons to take back her namesake banner. Maybe if her boys do well this time around, they could just buy Disney instead.

The World According To Dennis

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Change Agent

Telltale Fingertips

WITH BIOMETRICS,
HOW YOU TYPE CAN
ALLOW WEBSITES TO
KNOW WHO YOU
ARE—OR AREN'T

BY
**KATHLEEN
KINGSBURY**

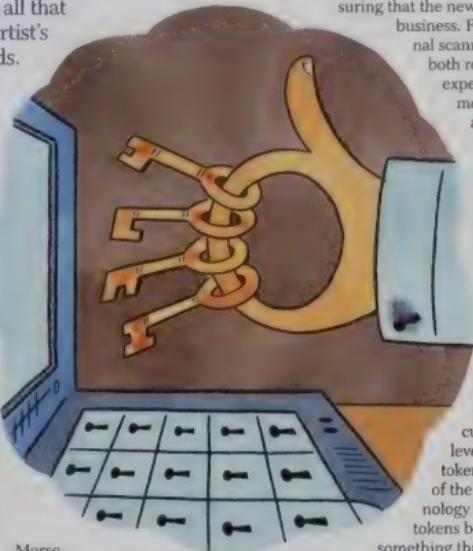
JUST GOT TO HAVE THAT RED-HOT GNARLS BARKLEY single before it even hits iTunes? Good luck. Gone are the days when a simple password was all that

stood in the way of a best-selling artist's next hit landing in the wrong hands. The music industry has turned to the next generation of online security to thwart cyber-thieves—one that may soon extend to other security-sensitive cybertransactions like banking.

For the past six months, to access the newest releases, you have had to supply something perhaps even harder to replicate than your fingerprints: fine motor skills. Your typing speed and the pressure of your fingers on the computer keys are a rhythmic pattern that you repeat every time you type a given word, a pattern nearly impossible for someone else to duplicate.

Keystroke authentication is the newest offering from the field of biometrics—the measurement and analysis of unique physical or behavioral characteristics—and it's accurate 98% of the time. "We've had more than 2 million deliveries without a leak," says John Heaven, CEO of Musicrypt, a Toronto-based digital-rights-management firm that arranges music distribution between record labels and radio stations or the press.

Providing this enhanced level of protection for Musicrypt and its clients is BioPassword Inc., a security-software company based in Issaquah, Wash. Keystroke patterning was first employed by the military a century ago in its use of



Morse code, which also allows senders to be identified by their tapping rhythms. In the 1980s, Stanford University scientists applied the technique to computer security. But it was not until BioPassword bought the patents from the school in 2002 that keystroke dynamics found its first commercial use. BioPassword's developers harnessed the technology into portable software and began selling it in 2004 as a backup

password-protection authentication method for many online sites. Now more than 30 companies, or about half a million users, have signed on. As BioPassword CEO Mark Upson puts it, "For \$1 per user annually, you've got online security that can't be sold, lost or replicated."

BioPassword's best customers so far are banks and credit unions, which are under federal mandate to adopt stronger authentication measures to protect online customers against identity theft and other fraud. To access account information, online banking generally requires a password with a maximum of 10 character points. Biometric IDs have more than 80 distinct data points.

For most financial institutions, the new federal rules mean finding a second method to authenticate a user while ensuring that the new system doesn't disrupt business. Fingerprinting and retinal scanning are options, but both require users to have expensive additional equipment. Some credit unions also considered giving members ID tokens, a popular practice for many banks, but this proved cost prohibitive.

Many banks, fearing the Big Brother aspect of biometrics, have chosen in-depth analysis of customers' online behavior as a backup. Such monitoring can then determine whether a certain customer needs a higher level of security, like a token or an RFID tag. "Some of the most advanced technology we're seeing is those tokens being embedded in something that a consumer is carrying every day, such as a cell phone or credit card," says cybersecurity expert Fran Rosch of VeriSign, a leader in online authentication. "That makes it less likely to be lost." Less likely, but not impossible.

Upson says keystroke authentication's accuracy could soon be applied to verify any Web-based data, like electronic medical records or tax filings. "Even a fingerprint can be altered," he says. "Typing? You probably couldn't change it if you wanted to."



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HOW PROFITABLE SERVICES AND A SAVVY MARKETING CAMPAIGN ARE FUELING AARP'S TORRID GROWTH

BY
SALLY B.
DONNELLY

EVERYBODY LOVES GRANDMA, right? But what if she's going to bankrupt the country? Every seven seconds an American turns 50, and the oldest baby boomers will reach 65 in four years. That generation accounts for 78 million Americans. They consume 40% of the federal budget through such programs as Social Security and Medicare. And policy experts fear that the coming wave of seniors could swamp those programs—leaving a gift of higher taxes and reduced benefits for their kids. "The crisis is coming—we know that," says Bill Novelli, CEO of AARP.

That's why, Novelli says, AARP will leverage its increasingly powerful brand to offer prescrip-

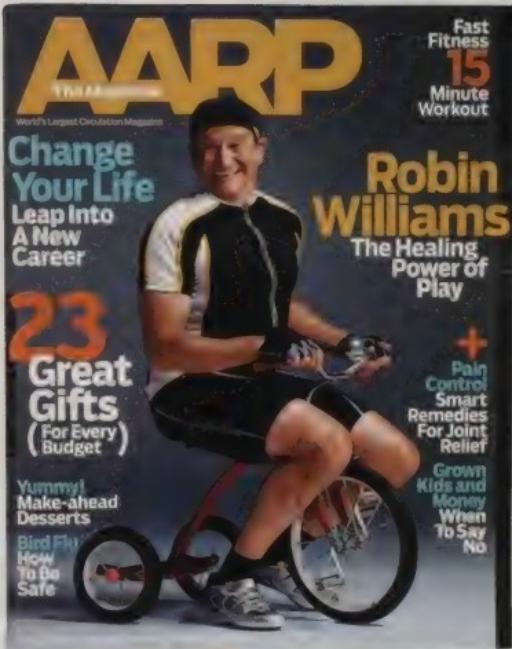
tions for America's most pressing fiscal problems—and drive its own revenues to more than \$1 billion in the process.

Sources familiar with AARP say the group will for the first time acknowledge that "third rail" political issues like raising the retirement age, indexing Social Security benefits for age and increasing the taxable wage base need to be openly debated. And Novelli says AARP won't lobby just for its powerful constituency, the 37 million citizens over 50 who belong to his organization. "We have to be fair to all generations, and all options should be

on the table," he says. "But AARP is going to be vocal and strong."

AARP can certainly throw its weight around. The organization is one of the country's most influential lobbying groups, with a membership about 10 times that of the National Rifle Association. In Washington, politicians from both major parties covet AARP's backing on a range of issues. That is in part because 1 out of every 4 voters in the past election, according to exit polls, was a member of AARP.

The group's support for President



A circulation of 22 million makes **AARP: The Magazine** the nation's biggest print publication—and a formidable opinion platform for AARP's views

George W. Bush's Medicare drug plan gave the program a major boost in Congress, for instance. But the real shocker for critics—who claimed that AARP was acting out of self-interest—was that AARP's co-sponsored plan with United Healthcare lost \$12 million when the money spent on educating consumers about the new program was accounted for.

The organization plans to overhaul its marketing next year, remaking its logo (the new one is on the accompanying chart) and sharpening its well-established brand with ventures into the Internet and music. AARP

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INSIDE BUSINESS

Management

plans to establish a massive new Web presence with a social network based at AARP.org and launch its own blog on current events. Also under way is a wide-ranging music-marketing campaign, including sponsorship of its first-ever national concert tour (with Tony Bennett), a Web-based music-recommendation service and a music blog.

The organization can retail its wares and opinions through the nation's largest-circulation publications, *AARP: The Magazine* (bimonthly) and *AARP Bulletin* (monthly), which each have more than 20 million readers. It runs a nationally syndicated radio show, and its Spanish-language magazine, *Segunda Juventud* (Second Youth), has a circulation of 650,000.

AARP is also energizing its highly profitable royalty business, AARP Services Inc. It's a separate for-profit entity that arranges licensing and endorsement deals, renting the AARP name (and discount) on everything from rental cars to medication. AARP Services also provides health insurance with partner United Healthcare. Novelli says AARP Services is "the fuel that runs the jet engine."

Indeed, AARP wouldn't be the powerhouse it is today without those services. Royalties alone account for \$379 million in revenue. That's more than annual membership dues, which bring in \$229 million. In total, 40% of AARP's \$878 million in 2004 revenue came from royalties and service fees. AARP increased its revenues last year about 10.3%, to \$938 million, and spent about a third of that on getting current members or courting potential new ones.

That growing economic power gives AARP options it never had before. For years, it backed investment funds through a traditional financial-services company but increasingly grew frustrated with the performance and goals. Last year, after being turned down by more than two dozen investment firms, it created its own no-load investment funds. They have a clearly written prospectus and small minimum investment of \$100. The funds' advisers are rare in the business in that they are paid salaries, not commissions. The funds



"WE SHOULD BE FAIR TO ALL GENERATIONS, AND ALL OPTIONS SHOULD BE ON THE TABLE."

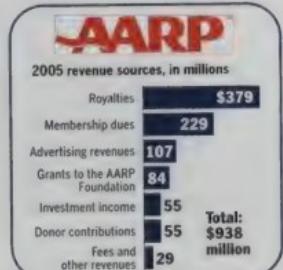
—BILL NOVELLI, CEO

have attracted \$36 million so far, outpacing the \$24 million average of other new funds. "It is a good example of our triple bottom line," says Dawn Sweeney, head of AARP Services: "improve member value, drive social change and bring revenue back into the organization."

AARP's torrid growth hasn't come without controversy. Critics have long argued that the organization stretches the concept of nonprofit; an IRS probe in the '80s resulted in the creation of AARP Services—and a \$135 million fine.

It's true that AARP has seen a windfall, becoming the nation's largest Medigap insurer (providing drug coverage in circumstances that Medicare doesn't cover). In 2004 AARP earned \$197 million in insurance-related royalties and an additional \$23 million from investment insurance premiums, in both cases mostly from Medigap.

As for influencing public policy, Novelli isn't worried, even with gridlock looming in Washington. "What our members care about is the country and their kids. They want to leave a better place. It will be a lot of work, but we are a bunch of optimists."



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Hackers For Hire

BANKS PAY TRACSECURITY AND OTHER COMPANIES TO STEAL FROM THEM—AND THEN SHOW THEM THE HOLES IN THEIR DEFENSES

BY
AMANDA
BOWER

JIM STICKLEY
and his
accomplice,
Dayle Alsbury,
adjust their fake

fire-inspector uniforms, then saunter into a brown brick credit-union building. Their walkie-talkies are blaring with a recorded dispatcher's voice, downloaded from the Internet and transmitted from their getaway car. After they flash their homemade badges, the two men are waved behind

the tellers' counters and into the inner sanctum of the credit union. Within just half an hour, they have gained access to the entire computer network, security system and customer data—unbeknownst to any employee on the premises.

Thankfully, they're not genuine bad guys. Their fake uniforms and IDs are supplied by TraceSecurity, a Louisiana-based outfit co-founded by Stickley that is hired by companies to test their security systems. And it's not much of a test. In four years, Stickley and his colleagues have never failed to crack those systems, mostly because people are too trusting, too unaware or simply too lazy to take the necessary steps that would deter thieves.

These criminals don't tote sawed-off



shotguns and ski masks. Smart thieves steal data, not banknotes, because a financial institution's confidential customer information is often more valuable than what's in its vaults. Banks and credit unions know this and have policies to protect themselves from high-tech heists.

Still, Stickley has successfully breached health-care organizations, lotteries, retail companies and government offices. TraceSecurity offers traditional risk, compliance and IT assessments, but the part that Stickley loves best is what he calls a "social-engineering engagement." That's a polite term for a break-in. TraceSecurity engineers infiltrate a target organization posing as pest controllers, fire officials, OSHA inspec-

tors and even foreign diplomats; once in, they trick employees into allowing them access to sensitive

data. A one-off engagement costs anywhere from \$5,000 to \$25,000. There are dozens of outfits around the country engaged in some form of social-engineering work, from Atlanta-based Vigilant to Mitnick Security Consulting (principal Kevin Mitnick is an ex-hacker and author of *The Art of Deception: Controlling the Human Element of Security*). Many, however, offer testing only over the telephone.

TIME accompanied TraceSecurity on a



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Small Business



Included in
TraceSecurity's bag of tricks: phony uniforms, badges, walkie-talkies, and devices that plug into computers and steal data

recent string of in-person "heists" on the West Coast. At one credit-union branch, Stickley flirted with female staff members in the break room while Alsbury, who played the straight man to Stickley's goofy charmer, had four minutes alone in a credit union's communications hub—plenty of time to install a wireless "sniffer" that could later broadcast information going in and out of the bank. He could also have shut down the security cameras, alarm and telephone systems. The pair got access to the back side of the ATM and a room with boxes of backup customer data. Alsbury was able to drop a disc into an unattended, logged-on computer: a Trojan Horse virus could then download itself and allow him to hack the credit union's system. "There was nothing more we could have done," says Stickley laughing, when the pair returns triumphant to the parking lot. "We owned that place."

Consumers know by now they are at risk of identity theft, of "phishing" e-mail attacks and of other scams designed to get them to cough up their account information (and then, too often, the contents of that account). Fake heists show that customers aren't the only weak link in the chain. "We have hacked into every single online banking application that we've tested, except one," says Stickley. So even if you follow all the rules—never respond to an e-mail purporting to be from a bank,

"WE HAVE HACKED INTO EVERY SINGLE ONLINE-BANKING APPLICATION THAT WE'VE TESTED, EXCEPT ONE." —JIM STICKLEY

shred every piece of paper containing personal information, only return a phone call to a financial institution using the number on the back of your card—you could still have an account cleaned out because of sloppy security at your financial institution. "Bringing in Trace gave us a sense of security, a sense of awareness, and it definitely brought in some new internal training and controls," says Kelley Ferguson, director of network-and-security services at Numerica Credit Union, where TraceSecurity conducted social engineering last spring.

So how does a company that boasts the ability to crack any system convince clients that it's safe to hire that firm? Stickley says the company's 50 employees have extensive background checks, supplied to clients if requested. Typically, employees are drawn from lines of work such as corporate security and computer engineering. But hackers need not apply. "We don't hire anyone who we believe was a former hacker," Stickley

says. "Someone who can program and do network administration, you can teach them to hack. It's just too dangerous to put a hacker in a bank." Says Ferguson: "I think we were more nervous about having someone not do this than having someone do it."

So how do you keep Stickley or, more important, the real criminals

out of the customer data? If your company handles any sensitive information whatsoever—including something as simple as an e-mail address or a phone number—TraceSecurity recommends the following:

■ **IF IT'S PAPER, SHRED IT** Stickley regularly dives into his clients' Dumpsters; he says even a Post-it note with a customer's name and phone number gives him enough to begin a scam. Employee names, positions and work schedules are invaluable to con artists.

■ **ALWAYS ESCORT STRANGERS** Never let pairs split up, and never, ever leave them alone—no matter what the reason. Stickley has stooped to faking illness, and then spending as long as it takes in a bathroom until the most vigilant escort gives up.

■ **VERIFY IDS** Take the time to ensure that a stranger is whom he claims to be, even at the risk of giving insult. Check the name on a badge against a driver's license, then call the purported employer—fire department, pest control—to make sure the person is legit.

■ **DOUBLE-CHECK E-MAIL REQUESTS** Stickley sets up a fake e-mail address and credit-union website, then sends out e-mails claiming to be from the credit union's IT manager, asking employees to "test" the new website by entering their own account and password information. They often give Stickley all he needs to empty out those accounts.

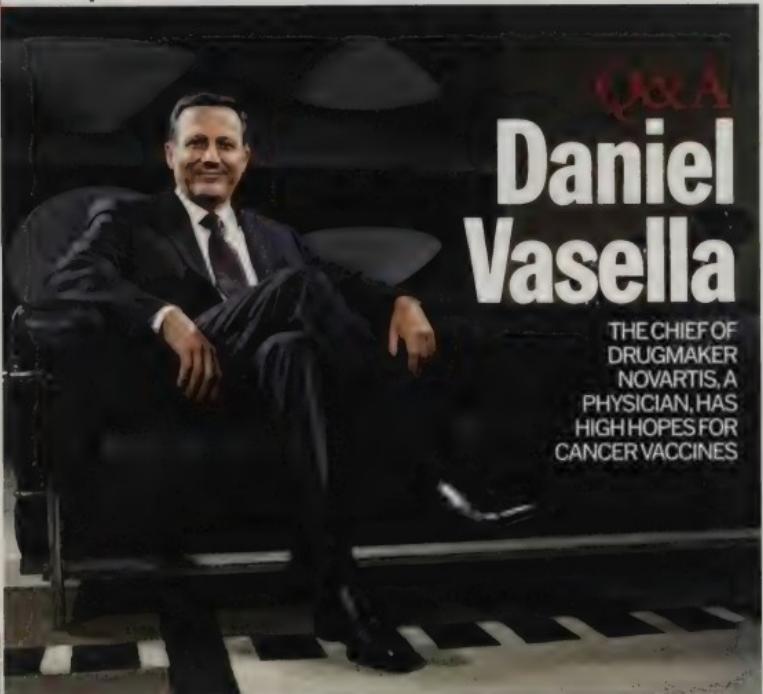


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CEO Speaks



Q&A Daniel Vasella

THE CHIEF OF DRUGMAKER NOVARTIS, A PHYSICIAN, HAS HIGH HOPES FOR CANCER VACCINES

NOVARTIS HAS BEEN FLYING PRETTY HIGH LATELY, DESPITE DELAYS AND BAD news about a major diabetes drug it hopes to launch next spring. The Swiss drug giant's 2005 income of \$6.1 billion on sales of \$32.2 billion set a record that CEO Daniel Vasella expects will be broken this year. He spoke with TIME'S **UNMESH KHER** and **BILL SAPORITO** about vaccines, Democrats and why the firm is wading into China.

You expect another year of record earnings?
I think it will be a good year. We currently have five filings that are waiting [for approval], and that will create some pressure, accentuate the perpetual tension between short-term performance and long-term performance and investment into the future.

Which new classes of drugs interest you the most as a scientist?

We have now more than 50 or so new chemical entities in clinical development. In the past, I did choose darlings, you know, and they all failed. So I've stopped doing that. The only time I engage myself is when I see something getting orphaned within the company—and when I think it's very important, like Gleevec [a \$2 billion cancer drug] was.

How do you think the Democratic victory in Congress will affect your industry?

Superbly [laughing]. We have seen that the pharmaceutical industry was part of the campaign. So that is not a very good sign. We know that Medicare Part D [the drug program] has been the center of attention for some Democrats ... [who are] saying that pharmaceutical companies are profiting from it in an undue way. But Medicare Part D, in my view, should have been introduced by Democrats, not by Republicans, because it's a fundamentally Democratic thought to give drug coverage to seniors who can't afford it—and the fact is that most seniors are very happy with the program.

What is the thinking behind a new \$100 million research center in China?

China has invested massively in engineering and biomedical sciences, and we have now a breed of scientists who have come back from the U.S. and Europe who are very well educated ... so the human-resource pool we have tapped is the primary motivator for us going there.

Novartis bought Chiron and made a bold move into vaccines. Why?

The question is, Does one believe that vaccines are important and that there are more opportunities to develop vaccines that will have an impact on people's lives? I think yes because we have new infectious diseases that emerge from time to time. We have diseases that are viral and haven't been well mastered. And we have cancers induced by viruses, like cervical cancer, which is 70% associated with a viral infection. And maybe we can even come to vaccines for other cancers.

Have Chiron's production problems in the Liverpool [England] and Marburg [Germany] plants been fixed?

To a large extent, Liverpool is fine, and Marburg is almost fine. We should

be able to sell 35 million doses of flu vaccine this year—which is a huge increase.

What's in the vaccine pipeline?

A very interesting meningitis vaccine and an H5N1-flu-pandemic vaccine, which we're working on in clinical trials. Then we have the new cell-culture-based vaccine technology, which we have developed in Germany, and it's basically ready; we need regulatory approval. We're building a very large cell-based manufacturing plant in North Carolina.

What's the benefit of a cell-based vaccine?

You aren't dependent on the chicken [eggs, for culturing]. In a bird-flu pandemic, the chicken would be done. You are also faster and cleaner in production. ■

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LOCALITIES FOR PROFIT



New Routes To Profit?

BY
SALLY B.
DONNELLY

POLITICIANS IN WASHINGTON MAY BE LOOKING FOR a way to back out of trouble spots like the Middle East, but U.S. airlines are increasingly looking

for a way in. A viciously competitive domestic market is sending some major airlines abroad to find healthier profit margins on international routes—anywhere but in the U.S., where low-cost carriers and high fuel prices are killing their bottom lines.

Last month United Airlines became the first U.S. carrier to offer nonstop service between Washington and Kuwait City. The airline says it's focusing on oil and gas companies that move employees back and forth. United predicts that a third of the plane will be full-fare business passengers, whose high-priced tickets will help subsidize the cheaper leisure fares. Kuwait is also a jumping-off point for U.S. military personnel and government workers going into war zones in Iraq and Afghanistan. And the route is sure to become a "war shuttle," filled with troops, Pentagon officials, contractors, journalists—even the occasional covert operative. The 11-hour flight saves travelers more than four hours and a connection. "It's an amazing time saver," says Jay Jones, a Virginia-based consultant who was on the inaugural flight. "Because of this route, I plan on making Kuwait my gateway to the region."

Delta, which is struggling to emerge from bankruptcy and is being pursued by US Airways, is

expanding overseas too. It has announced 50 new international routes in the past year, including New York City to Accra, Ghana, and in May 2007 it will become the only U.S. carrier with a nonstop flight to the United Arab Emirates, offering an Atlanta-to-Dubai route. Dubai is a rapidly growing global business hub and playground, and it's home to expanding U.S. government and military press operations that cater to Arab media—all but ensuring that Delta can fill seats to the emirate.

While not all these routes may prove profitable, any little bit of extra income would help the beleaguered industry.

The major carriers have lost about \$35 billion since 9/11, and the high price of jet fuel has left only a few airlines forecasting profits for this year. Security scares (or worse) still loom large; just last August an airline bomb plot was foiled in London—a reminder of how fragile confidence in air travel remains.

Nonetheless, airlines have cut back on the number of planes in operation, ensuring that many flights are nearly full (and that you may be squished in a middle seat). Carriers have eliminated all sorts of amenities—from snacks to pillows and blankets—and analysts expect the financial recovery to continue into next year. Standard & Poor's estimates that the top 10 U.S. carriers will earn \$4 billion in 2007. And the expanded international routes should bolster profits going forward. "New flights are often leading-edge indicators that can stimulate underserved routes," says an airline executive. "And with the exception of the competitive North Atlantic, these can be very lucrative flights."

The majors won't have these routes to themselves and may soon face competition for business they once had locked up. Low-cost airlines such as AirTran, JetBlue and Spirit are bidding for part of the \$2 billion the Department of Defense spends annually to move personnel and equipment around the world. Traditionally, major passenger and cargo airlines have dominated that business, but they may soon find themselves in a bidding war with the lower-cost carriers.

And the biggest fight over international travel is yet to come. American, Continental, Northwest and United are vying for U.S. government approval to launch new daily service to China next spring. A round-trip full-fare ticket from New York City to Beijing runs about \$11,000, making it one of the most profitable routes on the planet. Additional competition may lower the price a bit—but not too much, the airlines hope.





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*Parts, materials and services in U.S. ending 3/06. Goods and services (CY 2005) - 2005 Center for Economic Research study. Includes direct, dealer and supplier employees, and jobs created through their spending. ©2006

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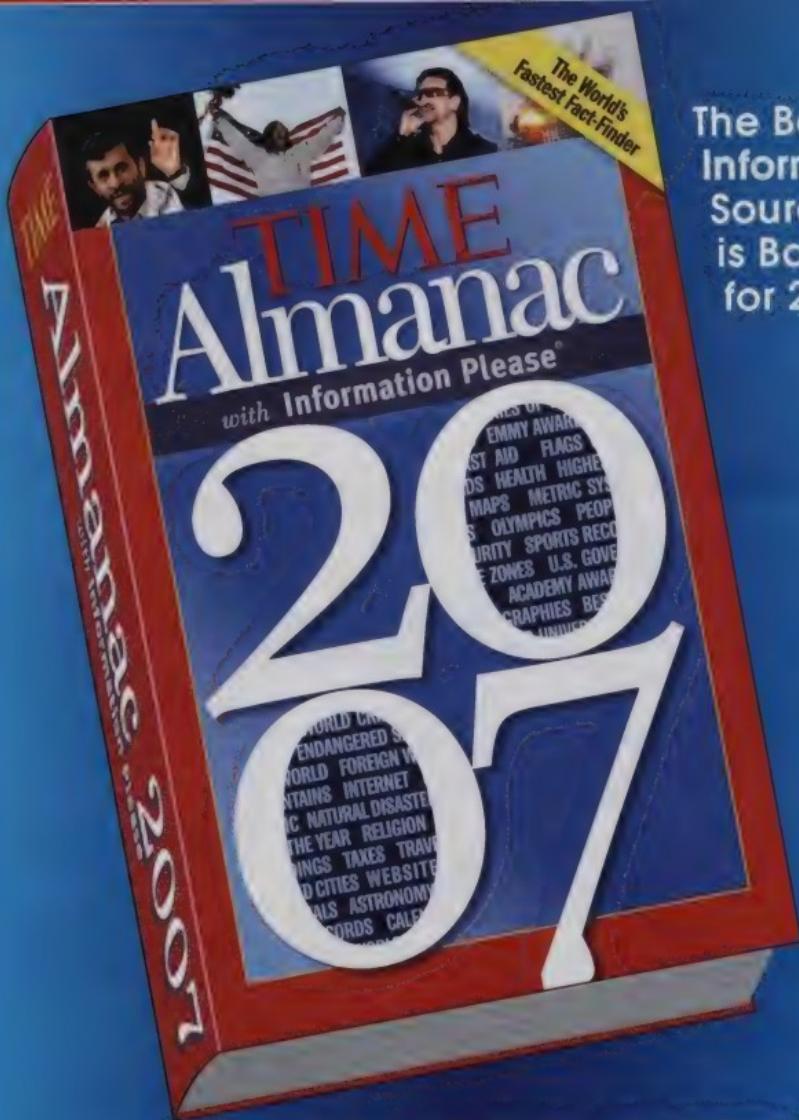
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LIGHTS

Choose LEDs (light-emitting diodes) instead of incandescent bulbs to decorate your tree and home. They're more expensive but last much longer and use 80% to 90% less power than conventional mini-bulbs. LEDs stay cool to the touch, so they won't singe the tree—or your child's fingers. Brookstone.com's oversize LEDs—\$10 per 12-ft. strand—look just like the lights Dad used to put up.



TREES

Buy a potted or balled Christmas tree (roots still attached) so you can replant it in the backyard or donate it to the parks department. *LivingChristmasTrees.org* has lots of advice for do-it-yourselfers; it also "rents" living trees to residents of Portland, Ore., for \$75 each. If you get a cut tree, recycle it; search *Earth911.org* for programs in your city.



CANDLES

Another way to conserve electricity is to turn off the lights and burn candles instead. Choose soy, vegetable wax or beeswax—all renewable, biodegradable materials—over

paraffin-wax candles, which are petroleum based. Big Dipper Wax Works' 100% beeswax candles run \$10 to \$24 at 3rliving.com.



HOW TO HAVE A GREEN CHRISTMAS

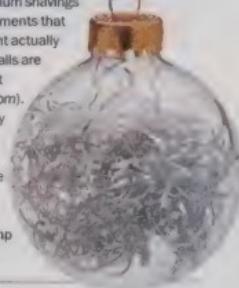
Christmas may be the most wonderful time of the year, but it's also the most wasteful. Here's how you can be kind to the environment—and still look haute in style.

—By Maryanne Murray Buechner



ORNAMENTS

Artist Jeff Clapp uses oxygen canisters discarded on Mount Everest to make pricey bells and bowls. But he uses the leftover aluminum shavings to fill tree ornaments that someone might actually buy (Everest balls are \$48 per at Eco-Artware.com). Or save money and hang household items—Barbie accessories, Pez dispensers—with hemp twine.



GIVING

Do the folks on your list really need more stuff? If not, skip the store-bought presents and give a home-cooked gourmet meal instead, or donate to a charity in their name. Oxfamamerica.org invites donors to "buy," for



example, a camel (\$175), cow (\$75) or sheep (\$45) as a way of supporting its programs in developing countries. For more ways to give, go to treehugger.com.

GIFT WRAP

Nobody will notice that you wrapped your gifts in plain paper if you add a pretty bow on top. For a vintage look, Danny Seo, author of *Simply Green Giving*, recommends using old VHS and cassette tape (both curl nicely on the edge of scissors), old Christmas lights, tape measures—anything, really, that's long enough to tie around a box. Find more ideas at idealbite.com.

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New Year's fireworks light up the skies over Reykjavik

WHERE TO CELEBRATE

By LISA MC LAUGHLIN

WHY STAY HOME FOR THE biggest party of the year when they're celebrating all over the world? Here are some exotic places to ring in 2007.

Edinburgh SCOTLAND

The birthplace of *Auld Lang Syne* is also the home of Hogmanay, a spectacularly rousing four-day celebration that welcomes the New Year with fire, music, parades and then some more fire. The party starts on Dec. 29 with a 15,000-strong song-filled candlelight procession and fire festival through Edinburgh and ends with the symbolic burning of a Viking longship.

Days of parades, concerts, dog races and fireworks follow.

Reykjavik

ICELAND

There's precious little light in Iceland during the winter, which makes the upper latitudes ideal for viewing the northern lights—especially on New Year's Eve. In Reykjavik, Icelanders gather around dozens of massive bonfires to sing traditional folk songs accompanied, according to local legend, by trolls, fairies and elves. (Iceland's Tourist Board claims that 80% of Icelanders believe in little beings.) At midnight the city

explodes in a massive fireworks display. The dancing and partying that follow last until the sun comes up, which in Iceland is at about lunchtime on Jan. 1.

Kahuitara Point

CHATHAM ISLANDS

If you want to be the very first to welcome the first day of the new year, Antarctica is the place to be. On any Jan. 1, the sun sits above the horizon the whole day across most of Antarc-

Five exotic locales in which to welcome the New Year

tia. For a slightly more comfortable holiday vacation, head to the Chatham Islands.

Kahuitara Point on Pitt Island in this Pacific Ocean chain is the first populated place on the planet to see the sun rise. You could do worse. The Chathams are known for their excellent fishing, wild scenery and easygoing lifestyle. They are also home to about 40 plant, 18 bird and 150 insect species found nowhere else on earth.

Bangkok

THAILAND

In Thailand you have three chances to ring in the New Year. On Dec. 31, western New Year's Eve is celebrated with parties, concerts and fireworks. A few weeks later the country stages massive celebra-

tions in honor of Chinese New Year. Finally, on April 13 Thailand celebrates the first day of the traditional Thai calendar with Songkran, a three-day festival marked by parades, feasts and a water-throwing free-for-all in which people roam the streets with squirt guns, bowls of water and garden hoses, drenching passersby—and themselves—in the process. The water represents purification, but it also brings the revelers welcome relief: April is the hottest month of the year in Thailand.

Rio de Janeiro

BRAZIL

New Year's Eve, or Reveillon, is one of Rio de Janeiro's most important holidays, second only to Carnaval. Extravagant beachfront celebrations unfold along Copacabana, attracting some 2 million revelers clad in white (to bring good luck and peace in the coming year). Live music ranging from samba to rock blasts from four stages along the beach. New Year's is also a day to honor Iemanja—goddess of the sea and mother of the waters—with ritualistic offerings stowed in small wooden boats and launched in the surf. Tradition holds that if the goddess is pleased with a boat's offerings (usually perfume, white flowers or trinkets), she will carry the boat out to sea and bestow the bearer with blessings. If not, it's still a great party.



The Best Life Diet
By Bob Greene

The author is Oprah's personal trainer and diet adviser. Guess whose book will be No. 1 five minutes after it comes out? Luckily, Greene's diet advice is wise: fruits and vegetables, whole grains and lots of exercise. If Oprah can do it, so can you.



The Skinny
By Melissa Clark and
Robin Aronson

Ever wondered how that lithe young woman at the office eats those luscious foods and never gains any weight? This book reveals her secrets. She exercises, she's picky, and she eats exactly what she wants—in "smallish" quantities. Best tip: when you sit down to eat, always include fruit or vegetables.



The Gold Coast
Cure's Fitter Firmer Faster
Program
By Andrew and Ivy Larson

Take out your bikini! This husband-and-wife team advises avoiding "fake and fattening foods" and sticking with unrefined whole foods, such as fruits and vegetables. Oh, and exercise. (Do we detect a common theme here?)

NEXT YEAR'S DIET BOOKS

Low carb. High fiber. No sugar. Reduced fat. Points. Exchanges. "Everything that you can think of has been done," says Marion Nestle, a nutrition professor at New York University and the author of *What to Eat*. "It's hard to think of some new gimmick in dieting." Haven't heard. Each year as the New Year's resolution season draws near, the publishing industry dreams up new weight-loss schemes to entice the ever plumper U.S. population, nearly two-thirds of which is overweight. The new crop of diet books recommends everything from treating meals as mood medicine to eating dinner for breakfast. Here's a sampler. —By Andrea Sachs



The Good Mood Diet
By Susan Kleiner

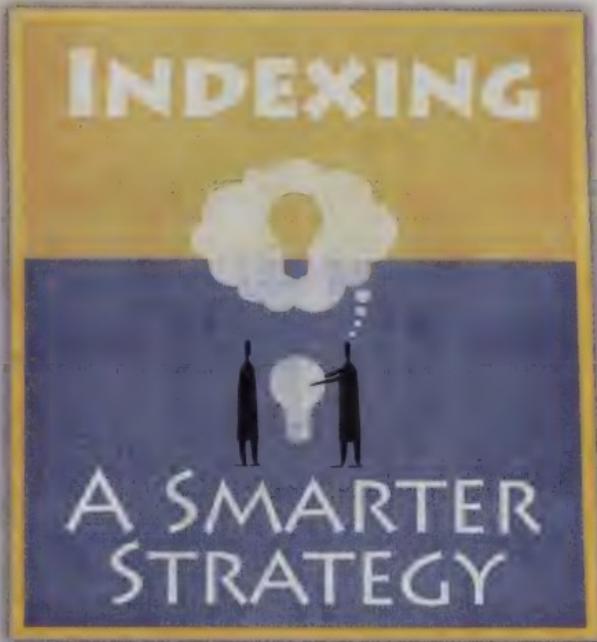
The author promises you'll feel terrific while you lose weight by eating "feel-good foods." Alas, that doesn't mean Ben & Jerry's. She's talking, naturally, about fruits, vegetables and other healthy, filling diet fare.

THE REVERSE DIET
By Tricia Cunningham and Heidi Skolnik

The "reverse" at the heart of this diet is the adage "Eat like a king for breakfast, a prince for lunch and a pauper for dinner." Your big meal in the morning "will boost your energy



throughout the day," the authors promise. That way, you'll be sated by nightfall and less likely to surf the fridge just before bedtime. Choose healthy foods like whole grains and lean protein. It's not necessary to break your fast with a sirloin steak, but neither is it against the rules.



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MOHAMMED DUFALA ISHAK, DARFUR SURVIVOR

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For a second season, Michael Ealy stars as a Black Muslim undercover FBI agent in the Showtime mini-series *Sleeper Cell*

How does a show that deals with radical Muslims and terror plots avoid turning off viewers? I think because we show the humanity behind the characters, as opposed to making them one-dimensional, evil people.

What made the creators think a Black Muslim hero was a good idea? They thought it would be the most accurate portrayal of a Muslim in America, outside that of an Arab-American.

Did you really study the Koran and learn to speak Arabic? Yes. But I'm not fluent.

So you can't order dinner in Cairo? No. Nor am I ready to be a Koranic scholar.

How bummed are you about not being one of PEOPLE's sexiest men alive this year, after being featured in 2002? I didn't know I wasn't. I don't give it much weight.

PEOPLE says you and *Studio 60* star D.L. Hughley are sexy look-alikes. Get out of here! In what world? It's the hair. They see two black men with hair and think they look alike.

Some former co-stars say you're quite the kiss. What's the secret to a great onscreen lip lock? Communication beforehand. I like to ask women how far I can go. Most of my female co-stars have been game for whatever I've brought to the table. But I've got some new moves up my sleeve for this season of the show, and for my next movie. —*By Sonja Steptoe*

Q&A MICHAEL EALY

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF MUNSON

WHY DOES THIS MAN LOOK SO HAPPY?

After David Lee Roth left Van Halen, upset

fans took time to embrace Sammy Hagar. Likely to be more welcoming are Wiggles

groupies, partly because some are still

potty training. The new Yellow Wiggle,

SAM MORAN, replaces the Australian kids' band's lead singer of 15 years,

Greg Page, who left due to an illness

that kept him from performing

standards like *Yummy Yummy* and

Toot Toot. The ubiquitous group

has sold more than 15 million CDs

and DVDs in the U.S. Van Halen has

sold more, but Van Halen fans don't

have such grateful mothers.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF MUNSON

CONTEMPLATING HOG HEAVEN WITH GEORGE

GEORGE CLOONEY'S longest-running relationship with a non-family member has ended. Yes, Hollywood's perma-bachelor did manage to commit, to a nearly 300-lb. Vietnamese potbellied pig named **MAX**, for 18 years. Max, 19, died peacefully at Clooney's Los Angeles home earlier this month. "He got me in a lot of trouble, that pig—scared the hell out of a lot of delivery people too," an emotional Clooney said days later at the premiere of his newest film, *The Good German*. Clooney first bought Max for his girlfriend, actress Kelly Preston. Preston left for John Travolta; Clooney got the pig.

Max, who enjoyed relaxing at his "vacation home" in Clooney's garage, struggled with his weight, and once cheated death when one of Clooney's friends accidentally ran over him in 2001. Max is survived by Clooney's agent, publicist and any number of women willing to be Clooney's next pet.



SCOTT WATKINS/GETTY IMAGES



A LESSON FROM THE CINEMA: DON'T TRUST MATT

Two recent movies, *The Departed* and *The Good Shepherd*, share more than Oscar ambitions and a wardrobe department full of suits. Consider the similarities:

THE GOOD SHEPHERD



Period thriller set against a backdrop of a secretive New England society known for its barbaric rituals: Yale University's Skull and Bones

Stars **MATT DAMON** as a CIA agent of questionable loyalty

Directed by the guy who starred in *Taxi Driver*, *Raging Bull* and *Goodfellas*: Robert De Niro

Alec Baldwin delivers the film's best punchlines as a gruff FBI agent

Stressed-out Damon finds solace in trustworthy deaf love interest Tammy Blanchard

Villain Oleg Stefan is nicknamed for James Joyce's *Ulysses*

THE DEPARTED

Profane thriller set against a backdrop of a secretive New England society known for its barbaric rituals: Boston's Irish Mob

Stars **MATT DAMON** as a Massachusetts cop of questionable loyalty

Directed by the guy who directed *Taxi Driver*, *Raging Bull* and *Goodfellas*: Martin Scorsese

Alec Baldwin delivers the film's best punchlines as a gruff police captain

Stressed-out Damon finds solace in trustworthy therapist love interest Vera Farmiga

Villain Jack Nicholson quotes Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*



SCOTT WATKINS/GETTY IMAGES

Barbara Ehrenreich

Fight for Your Right to Party

Our ancestors lived for holidays. Keep that in mind this season

WHEN IT COMES TO THE HOLIDAYS, I'M LIKE THE LITTLE old lady in the well-worn joke. She goes to a restaurant, finishes her meal, then presents the waiter with two complaints: one, the food was awful, and, two, there wasn't enough of it.

Call me a purist, but as Christmas approaches, it's worth noting that the ancient and traditional idea of a holiday did not include attempted murders over PlayStation 3 or CNN advisories on how to beat "holiday stress." According to anthropologists, human festivities—probably going back to the Paleolithic era—featured the universal ingredients of feasting, dancing, costuming, masking and/or face painting, for days at a time. These things didn't happen indoors, within the family circle, but around bonfires, in the streets or on the "dancing grounds" of prehistoric civilizations. Holidays bonded whole communities together, not just families.

Few, if any, cultures have ignored the human imperative to celebrate. When 18th and 19th century European explorers fanned out across the globe, they found colorful and ecstatic festivities everywhere—among the hunter-gatherers of Australia and the North American plains, the horticulturists of Polynesia, the village peoples of India. Recently discovered cave art from England shows what the archaeologists call "conga lines" of female dancers from at least 10,000 years ago.

From a modern, workaholic perspective, our partying ancestors were wasting precious time. Even supposedly nonjudgmental anthropologists can get a little antsy when they contemplate the caloric expenditure that went into assembling costumes, cooking up treats, crafting musical instruments and rehearsing dance steps, not to mention the festivity itself. In 15th century France, 1 out of 4 days of the year were given over to festivities, usually honoring saints' days, while the English had, in addition, their "church ales," wakes and fairs. Work was something you did when you had to. Holidays were what you lived for.

Most of these traditional festivities were religious, as Christians still faintly is. But the line between religion and recreation can be a fuzzy one, since in so many religions—from ancient Dionysian

worship to modern-day Brazilian Candomble and storefront Pentecostalism—the best way to contact the deity or deities is to get up and dance and sing and shout. The climax of the ritual celebration was not a drunken stupor but ecstatic union with the gods.

So why are we left with such wan and infrequent holidays today? The answer, simply put, is that in one historical setting after another, traditional celebrations were deliberately suppressed. The ancient Roman elite slaughtered worshippers of Dionysus with as much zeal as when, in later years, they went after Christians. Reformation Protestants criminalized carnival. Wahhabist Muslims,

the ideological antecedents of al-Qaeda, battled ecstatic Sufism.

One reason for suppression was a fear that festivities could get out of hand and even lead to revolution. This fear was unjustified: the carnival tradition helped fire up the French revolutionary crowds as well as uprisings of slaves and colonized peoples from the Caribbean to West Africa. When the Industrial Revolution took hold, holidays were eliminated in favor of the new work ethic: people were increasingly expected to labor all day, six days a week, and spend the Sabbath in sedentary prayer. A few traditional-style festivities survived—Mardi Gras in New Orleans, Carnaval in Rio and carnival in Cologne. But

by and large, sometime in the past 300 years, the music stopped.

Yet something so deeply rooted in human culture is not easy to annihilate. The repressed just keeps on returning—in, for example, the rock 'n' roll "rebellion" of the '50s and '60s and what I call the "carnivalization" of sports events in the '80s and '90s, when fans began dressing in team colors and costumes, and performing dance-like activities like the "wave." Then there are all the festivities that have emerged spontaneously: the Burning Man Festival, the Berlin Love Parade and Halloween as an occasion for grownup revelry. We seem to be impelled, almost instinctively and even in the absence of surviving traditions, to create occasions for communal joy.

So here's my modest proposal for holiday reform. Forget the PlayStations, the Barbie-mobiles, the catalogs and camp-outs in Wal-Mart parking lots. Give, if you will, to the needy, and let the pine trees live. Instead, rent the local V.F.W. hall or a hotel ballroom, deck it with boughs of holly, and invite the entire town for a vast blowout. O.K., it won't bring world peace. But if we have this primordial capacity for collective joy, why not put it to use?



Ehrenreich is an essayist and the author of the forthcoming book *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy*

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